Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

THE POVRTRAICTVRE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SVFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.
More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & malequati, Regium est.

M. DC. XL. VIII.

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Clarior e tenebris
IMMOTA TRIUMPHANS
CRESCIT SUB PONDERE VIRTUS
Guil: Marshall Sculpsit

Beatam et Æternam
Gloria
Cœli Specto
Asperam at Levem
Gratia
IN VERBO TUO SPES MEA
Christi Tracto
Splendidam at Gravem
Mundi Calco
Vanitas
Sculpsit

The Explanation o

POnderibus *genus omne mali, probríq; gravatus,*
Vixq; ferenda ferens, Palma *ut* depressa, *resurgo.*

Ac, velut undarum fluctûs ventíque, *furorem*
Irati Populi Rupes immota *repello.*

Clarior è tenebris, *cælestis stella, corusco.*
Victor æternum fœlici pace triumpho.

Auro fulgentem *rutilo gemmisq; micantem,*
At curis Gravidam *spernendo* calco Coronam.

Spinosam, *at* ferri facilem, *quo* Spes mea *Christi*
Auxilio, Nobis non est tractare *molestum.*

Æternam, *fixis fidei, sempérque* beatam
In Cælos oculis specto, *Nobísque paratam.*

Quod vanum *est, sperno; quod Christi* Gratia *præbet*
Amplecti studium est: Virtutis Gloria *merces.*

Τὸ Χῖ οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τ̃ πόλ

...tion of the Embleme.

...tus, ...urgo.

THough clogg'd with *weights* of miſeries
Palm-like *depreſs'd*, I higher riſe.

And as th'*unmoved Rock* out-braves
The boyſt'rous *winds*, and raging *waves*:
So *triumph I*. And *ſhine more bright*
In ſad Affliction's darkſome night.

That *ſplendid*, but yet *toilſome Crowne*
Regardleſly *I trample* downe.

...ſti

With joy I take this *Crowne* of *Thorne*,
Though *ſharp*, yet *eaſie to be borne*.

That *heav'nly Crowne*, already mine,
I view with *eyes* of faith divine.

...ræbet

I ſlight *vaine* things; and doe embrace
Glory, the juſt reward of *Grace*.

...ησε τ̃ πόλιν, οὐδὲ τὸ Κάππα.

1. *Upon his Majeſties calling this laſt Parliament.*

THis laſt Parliament I called, not more by others adviſe, and neceſſity of My affaires, than by My owne choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for My Crown, as beſt pleaſing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of thoſe ſparks, which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome yeares, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) yet reſolving with My ſelf to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publique grievances in Church & State, I hoped by My freedome, and their moderation, to prevent all miſunderſtandings and miſcarriages in this: In which, as I feared affaires would meet with ſome paſſion and prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould find leaſt of them in My ſelf; not

doubting, but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-ballancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, ſorry to heare, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding ſome mens wel-meaning zeale by ſuch rules of moderation as are beſt both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States, and Kingdomes:) No man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament, then My ſelf; who knowing beſt the largeneſſe of My own Heart toward My Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My ſelf moſt in that good and firme underſtanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, My owne and My Childrens Intereſts gave Me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the Love and welfare of My Subjects. The onely temporall bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honour and ſafety, next Gods protection; I cared not to leſſen My ſelfe in ſome things of My wonted Prerogative; ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but

but mine Enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissnesse in Church & State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws & Regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amisse in practise, but supply what was defective in the Constitution: No man having a greater zeale to see Religion setled and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, than my self; whom it most concernes both in piety and policy, as knowing that no flames of civill dissentions are more dangerous than those which make religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reforme, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse, and to grant whatever my Reason & Conscience told me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept my self within those bounds, and not suffered my own judgement to have been over-borne in some things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments; my confidence had lesse betrayed my selfe and my Kingdomes to those advantages which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief.

But our sinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods justice from reaping that glory in our calamities, which we robb'd him of in our prosperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not alwaies satisfie thy justice, nor prevent thy vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sinnes have overlaid our hopes, Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy judgments, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, thou giveſt us cause to repent of those remedies we too late apply.

Yet I doe not Repent of My calling this last Parliament, because (O Lord) I did it with an upright intention, to Thy glory, and My People's good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us, and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements, that thy rod as well as thy ſtaffe may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in Repentance, which becomes thy Children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought me and my People unfeignedly to repent of the ſins we have cõmitted.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could be with our ſinnes.

O thou ſoveraign goodneſſe and wiſdome, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels, over-rule alſo all our hearts, that the worſe things we ſuffer by thy juſtice, the better we may be by thy mercy.

As our ſinnes have turned our antidotes into poyſon, ſo let thy grace turne our poyſons into antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy Warre, ſo let this Warre prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdomes here, yet I may attaine to that Kingdome of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for My Saviours ſake, Amen.

2. *Upon the Earle of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to employ him in the greateſt affaires of State:

For, thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great Errours, and many Enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſpheare, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit and integrity.

Though I cannot in My judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of times, and the temper of that People, more then led by his owne diſpoſition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſſe in him as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of juſtice and malice of his Enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires than in the buſineſſe of that unfor-

unfortunate Earl: when between My own unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told Me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome People; I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed Me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, than what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdomes with Men, before that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed, I am ſo farre from excuſing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in My Judgment I thought not, by any cleare Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſigne of My repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man, than of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no Man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own conſcience, thereby to ſalve State-ſores; to calme the ſtormes of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans owne boſome.

Nor hath Gods Juſtice failed in the event

and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) than the People be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.*

For, in all likelyhood, I could never have ſuffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* Innocency, at leaſt by denying to *ſigne* that deſtructive *Bill*, according to that juſtice, which My Conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, than I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruell a favour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled Me to Signe that Bill, have been ſo farre from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more than they: He onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled Me, not to conſent againſt the vote of My own Conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them the ſinfull raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To which being in My ſoul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more welcome, as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to me, as to make me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to me) and for the future to teach me, That the beſt rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Juſtice

before

before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gaine a like conſent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Buſineſſe.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in My affaires, againſt the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured, than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo cleare, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Strafford's* greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemne him to die: who for their integrity in their Votes, were by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelfe and the two

Houſes

Houſes Vote, and doe as they would have us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning Party, than ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable Enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſs and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knowes) in ſhedding one mans bloud unjuſtly (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoyding publick miſchiefs) which may, I hope, be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſterity, that I am farre from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been ſhed in this unhappy Warre; which ſome men will needs charge on *Me*, to eaſe their own ſoules, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, than to loſe My own.

But then, O God of infinite mercies, forgive Me that act of ſinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me than any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envie, or malice

malice against him, and by my Place should, at least so farre, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sinne is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud guiltinesse O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousnesse.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, for thou saweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Tet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the bloud of my Redemer, and I shall be cleane; wash me with that pretious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgments, and to see my frailty in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after troubles, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer Me for any reason of State, to go against my reason of Conscience, which is highly to sinne against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What

What ever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit, which ſubjects my will to none, but thy light of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion which ſhines in my Soule, for Thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſſions.

Lord heare the voice of thy Sonnes and my Saviours bloud, which ſpeaks better things; O make me and my People to heare the voice of joy and gladneſſe, that the bones which thou haſt broken may rejoice in thy ſalvation.

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3. *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the 5 Members, was an act, which my Enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and feares; yea, and many of my friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my ſelfe ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt Thoſe I Charged, ſave onely a free and Legall Triall, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure or revenge againſt thoſe mens Perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawfull Correſpondencies they had uſed, and Engagements they had made to embroyle my Kingdomes: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced Writings under ſome mens owne hands, who were the chief Contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publique peace, which to preſerve by calling in Queſtion half a dozen men, in a faire and Legall way (which God knows was all my deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to do me & my Kingdome right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have cleared their Innocency, and removed my ſuſpicions; which, as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What

What flames of diſcontent this ſparke (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible meanes to quench it) ſoone kindled, all the world is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were My Followers at that time ſhort of My ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at My comming, then I was unaſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon Me, if I had none with Me to preſerve a reverence to Me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this,

Thoſe Men and their Adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted Vulgar as greater Protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, than My ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protecti-

on.

on. I leave them to God, and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations; no preſent impunity, or popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, We muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after un-avoidable judgment, which ſhall re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future Commotions, which I fore-ſaw, would in all likelyhood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath done to the undoing of many thouſands, the more is the pitty.

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all My deſigne: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on My ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with patience, than to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art My Witneſſe in Heaven, and in My Heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the Innocent: or if there were any ſuch wickedneſſe in My thoughts.

Then

Then let the enemy persecute My soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reines, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy self.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and goldly men they cannot be) any argument of my sinne, in that matter; more then their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloudy and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy Servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs which have followed, than those Tumults in *London* & *Westminster*, soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no lesse, that he restraines the madnesse of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the Vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority:

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour & Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancyed, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments

both in contemptuous words and actions, to My ſelf and My Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an Ague, but a quotidian Feaver, alwaies increaſing to higher inflamation, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

First, they muſt be a Guard againſt thoſe feares which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude People, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and overawe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and Debating matters with Reaſon and Candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſe to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacy of Men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences, muſt be ſubdued; by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmaticall Propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults; whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would

would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancyed.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the Publique good, then obtaine it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious meanes? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldome agree; violent deſignes and motions muſt have ſutable engines, ſuch as too much attend their owne ends, ſeldome confine themſelves to Gods meanes. Force muſt crowd in, what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turn their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit meanes to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the ſea to

rage when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have Men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was, That many Complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelf and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour & efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-ſpred diſeaſe, and predominate miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience: Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the known Bouteſeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, & Induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeeme no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive and *devour*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fouly inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My ſelfe could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not onely Our freedome in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelfe not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity in any man for popular terrours to deſert his publique ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe, beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gaines a fitter time to repaire the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a Warre, (when I went from *White hall* onely to redeeme My Perſon, and Conſcience from violence) God knowes, I did not then

think of a Warre. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after-Acts, have so much weakned My selfe, if I had purposed to engage in a Warre, which to decline by all means, I denied My self in so many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to fly unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for withdrawing our selves from the daily bairings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not flie so high, as to worry and teare those in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is My sole Judge, is My Witnesse in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My House at *White-hall*, if I could have had but any reasonable faire Quarter; I was resolved to beare much, and did so, but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majesty of My place and Person, the safety of My Wife and Children, to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunity most capable of their rudenesse and petulancie.

But this businesse of the tumults (whereof some have given already an account to God, others yet living know themselves desperately guilty, Time and the guilt of many hath so smothered up, and buried, that I think it best

to

to ſave it, as it is; onely I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſinne in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion, they ſhould have been; I doubt not but things would have been ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to heare reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo farre as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publique Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bleſſing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily Convened. But We

must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdome most when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou O Lord art my refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the madneſſe of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelme me.

I look upon My ſins, and the ſins of my People, (which are the tumults of our ſoules againſt thee O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popular inundations which thou permitteſt to overbeare all the banks of loyalty, modeſty, Laws, Juſtice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the drie land to appeare, and after didſt aſſwage the floud which drowned the world, by the word of thy power: Rebuke thoſe beaſts of the People, and deliver me from the rudeneſſe and ſtrivings of the multitude.

Reſtore, we beſeech thee, unto us, the freedomes of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpaſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon, and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it as it becomes Men and Chriſtians, ſo ſhall we praiſe thy name, who art the God of Order and Counſell.

What man cannot, or will not repreſſe, thy omnipotent Juſtice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a time-lyſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter, be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſſions by Reaſon, to our errours by Truth, to our ſeditions by Lawes duely executed, and to our ſchiſmes by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jeruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelfe.*

This grant, O my God, in thy good time for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, Amen.

5. *Upon*

5. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after setting this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in my purposes at first, to contribute what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the happy succesſe of this Parliament, (which had in me no other designe but the generall good of my Kingdomes) I willingly passed the BILL for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable physick, might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head of prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived this Parliament would find work with convenient recesses for the first 3 yeares, but I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to doe by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands: Such is some mens activity that they will needs make work rather than want it, and chuse to be doing amisse, rather then do nothing.

When

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfie ſome mens feares, and compaſſe publique affaires, I was perſwaded to grant that Bill of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the dore upon all preſent jealouſies, and future miſtakes: I confeſſe I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelf out of dores, as ſome men have now requited Me.

True, It was an Act unparallel'd by any of My Predeceſſours, yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extreame confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny My ſelf in ſo high a point of My Prerogative.

For, good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit that My condition ſhould be worſe by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſſe to deſire advantages of doing good, or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preſerving Lawes in their due execution and vigour, wherein My intereſt lies more than any

mans,

mans; since by those Lawes, My Rights as a KING, would be preserved no lesse than My Subjects; which is all I desired. More than the Law gives Me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented me of that setling Act; and many would needs perswade Me, I had cause so to doe; but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honour. That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have, and enjoy with them. I still counted My self undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I doe not yet despaire, but that God will still blesse Me with increase of it: when men shall have more leisure, and lesse prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happinesse, who are now onely miserable in this; That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor doe I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of my people will strive to returne such retributions of Honour, and love to Me, or My Posterity, as may

fully

fully compenſate both the acts of My confidence and My ſufferings for them; which (God knowes) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to Men, that being profeſſedly My Subjects, pretended ſingular piety, and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The Injurie of all Injuries is, That which ſome men will needs load Me withall; as if I were a wilfull and reſolved Occaſioner of My owne and My Subjects miſeries; while (as they confidently, but (God knowes) falſly divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtility to undoe what by My Royall aſſent I had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extreame fatuity of mind in Me, ſo farre to bind my owne hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knowes, though I had then a ſenſe of Injuries; yet not ſuch as to think them worth vindicating by a Warre: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure My ſelf by their not uſing favours, with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turne them into wantonneſſe; but I thought at length their owne feares, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent ſpirits,

would

would force them to conjure them downe a-gaine.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given My Enemies greater, and more desired advantages against Me, then by so unprincely Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Armes, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly setled by an Act of Parliament.

God knowes, I longed for nothing more than that My selfe, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sinne, as well as of Hazard, and dishonour for Me to goe about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to My Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability: If some men had not feared where no feare was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thank God, I know so well the sincerity and uprightnesse of My owne heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may seem lesse a Polititian to men, yet I need

no

no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I any reſervations in My own Soul, when I paſſed it; nor repentings after, till I ſaw that My letting ſome men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt Me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it ſelfe, together with Me, could not but be daſhed in pieces by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended: Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them ſee at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devil ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by waies of ſinfull ingratitude and diſhonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preſerved me, and made me to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their owne paſſions, either to do much evil themſelves, or abuſe the over-much goodneſſe of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfeit is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflections upon it as a ſinne of my will, though an errour of too charitable a judgement: Onely I am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evill, becauſe mine were good.

To thee (O my God) doe I ſtill appeale, whoſe All-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitfull darkneſſes of ther hearts.

Thou gaveſt me a heart to grant much to My Subjects: and now I need a Heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.

Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croßing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.

Let thy grace teach me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of my beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allay others feares, I have raiſed mine own; and by ſetling them, have unſetled my ſelfe.

Thus have they requited me evill for good, and hatred for my good will towards them.

O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorme, which neither admits my returne to the Port whence I ſet out, nor my making any other, with that ſafety and honour which I deſigned.

'Tis eaſie for thee to keep me ſafe in the love and confidence of my People; nor is it hard for thee to preſerve me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo farre to prevaile upon me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe My acts of greateſt Indul-

gence

gence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My selfe may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which Thou, ô Lord, hast conferred on Me.

I beseech Thee give Me and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make Me so far happy as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon My offences against Thee.

So, although for My sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

6. Upon His Majesties retirement from Westminster.

With what unwillingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster*, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling & victuall, are forced to Sea by a storm; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by shame more than feare; to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either My self, or the Members of Parliament, the liberty of our Reason, and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their owne freedome.

Whose agreeing Votes were not, by any law or reason, conclusive to My judgment; nor can they include, or carry with them, My consent, whom they represent not in any kind; nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with

with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a King, and the generall good of My People. I see that as many men they are seldome of one mind; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate minds, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all; if some mens hydropick insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure, it ceases to be Councell, when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to what ever tumultuary Patrones shall project. He deserves to be a Slave without pity, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall soveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdomes so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedome, which cannot be denied Me as a King; because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to con-

ſent. Better for me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which ſubjects me onely to God, ſo farre as by Reaſon or Religion he directs me, then live with the Title of a *King*, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer me to uſe my Reaſon and Conſcience, in what I declare as a *King*, to like or diſlike.

So farre am I from thinking the majeſty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutiſh formality, to conſent to what ever its Subjects in Parliament ſhall require, as ſome men will needs inferre; while denying me any power of a Negative Voice as King, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive me of the liberty of uſing my Reaſon with a good Conſcience; which themſelves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever my ſelf, as *King*, or the Houſe of Peeres with me ſhould, not ſo much deſire, as, enjoyn them to paſſe. I think my Oath fully diſcharged in that point, by my Governing only by ſuch Lawes, as my People with the Houſe of Peeres have Choſen, and my ſelf have conſented to. I ſhall never think my ſelf conſcientiouſly tied to go as oft againſt my Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſalls,

ſalls, which my Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honour, and Religion bids me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonour and abſurdity they make their King the onely man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to uſe His own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if my diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opiniativeneſſe, weakneſſe, or wilfulneſſe, and what they call Obſtinacy in me (which not true Judgment of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on my mind) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by ſavage rudeneſſe, and importunate obtruſions of violence, to have the miſt of His Errour and Paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully followes what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſſe of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can

be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weakness of their Councells, and Proposalls. I may, in the Truth and uprightness of My heart, protest before God and Men, that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houses, Further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My Judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things when not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience in point of Honour was to be considered, I chose rather to deny My self, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive My self to be Master; but in what concernes Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the generall good of My Kingdomes; (all which

which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in Me;) here I am, and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute, nor ſhall any man gain My conſent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirme that to Men, which in My Conſcience I deny before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thornes with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſſe ſhall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when inſtead of Reaſon, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of Parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wills, and paſſions.

I know no reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, then to prefer His Conſcience before His Kingdomes.

O my God, preſerve thy ſervant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome; For this I believe is thy will, that we ſhould maintaine: who, though thou doſt juſtly require us, to ſubmit our underſtandings and wills to thine; whoſe wiſdome and goodneſſe can neither erre, nor miſguide us; and ſo farre to deny our carnall reaſon, in order to thy ſacred Myſteries, and commands, that we ſhould believe and obey, rather then diſpute them;

yet doſt thou expect from us, only ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to doe any thing for thee, againſt our Conſciences; and as to the deſires of men, enjoyneſt us to try all things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon and Lawes, which are the rules of Civill Juſtice; and to declare our conſents to that onely which our Judgements approve.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place, in which thou haſt ſet me, and whereto the affaires of My Kingdomes at preſent did call me.

My People can witneſſe how far I have been content for their good, to deny My ſelfe, in what thou haſt ſubjected to My diſpoſall.

O Let not the unthankfull importunities, & tumultuary violence of ſome mens Immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous & unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make me ſtrengthen them by my conſent in thoſe things, which I think in my Conſcience to be againſt thy glory, the good of my Subjects, and the diſcharge of my own duty to Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make Me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities, and injuries they preſſe upon Me, rather then commit the leaſt ſinne againſt My Conſcience.

Let the juſt liberties of my people be (as well they may) preſerved in faire, and equall mayes, without the ſlavery of my Soul.

Thou

Thou that haſt inveſted Me by thy favours, in the power of a Chriſtian King ſuffer Me not to ſubject My Reaſon to other mens paßions, and deſignes, which to Me ſeeme unreaſonable, unjuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſſe of My heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth aad Juſtice; for theſe, I know, will bring Me at laſt to peace and happineſſe with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours ſake.

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7. *Upon the Queenes departure, and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much, as the ſcandall of that neceſſity, which drives Her away, doth afflict Me. That She ſhould be compelled by My owne Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Sub-

Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Proteſtant: For I looke upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away, and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to Her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants; who continue firme to their former ſetled Principles and Lawes.

I am ſorry My relation to ſo deſerving a Lady, ſhould be any occaſion of her danger and affliction; whoſe merits would have ſerved Her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*; while their rudeneſſe and barbarity knowes not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are ſo malicious as to hate Her for Her ſelf. The fault is, that She is My Wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection commands

mands Me, to ſtudy her ſecurity, who is only in danger for My ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrackt, ſo as ſhe may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafety in the midſt of My Perſonall dangers, that I can periſh but half, if ſhe be preſerved: In whoſe memory, and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with My bloud.

I muſt leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects, and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by thoſe, who, in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vaine expected from thoſe, that diſpute their Loyalty: Nor can it be ſafe for any relation to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitty ſo noble and peacefull a ſoule ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſſe of thoſe who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre,

as

as ſtars in the darkeſt nights; and aſſure the envious world, that ſhe loves me, not my fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We do not much blame the unkindneſs of the Generality, and Vulgar; for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our own Houſhold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge; who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion; and can leſſe endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactours, as well as their Soveraignes.

But even that policy of my Enemies is ſo far veniall, as it was neceſſary to their deſignes, by ſcandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeeke to drive her out of my Kingdomes; leſt, by the influence of Her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, She ſhould have converted to, or retained in, their love, and Loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may bleſt with Her company, the more I will retire to God, and my owne Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My Enemies may envy, but they can never deprive me

me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I enjoy my self.

Thou, ô Lord, whose justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy in thy due time, reunite us, on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly kingdome.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly Enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is My greatest temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy selfe, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our soules eternall good, and make us carefull to doe what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be knowne, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my Subjects, which professe the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learne, nor any hardning of her in any errour, thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her judgment, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceablenesse, which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine; that she may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Sonne Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holy duties, which most agree with his Holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity and uncertainty of all humane glory and greatnesse in our fore-erings and eclypses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours, and perfections, which are only to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8. *Upon*

8. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest Enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or owne it. It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could beare the Losse of My Kingdomes.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My selfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sinne, which admitted no colour of excuse.

I was resolved how to beare this, and much more, with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly containe themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it: This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdome, and cast all into disorder and darknesse.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall Undertakers, That bad actions must alwaies be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun then not carried on; for they think

think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smoother then oyle, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it my best policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported me, by the indignity of his carriage, to doe or say any thing, unbefeeming my self, or unsutable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as comming neerest to the great example of Christ.

And, indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, than a King; for, what the majesty of one might justly abhor, the charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injures a man, more then his greatest Enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our soules, which otherwaies cannot reach very farre, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded, and avenged My cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his owne and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſsful to them, ſhould not find mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſinne.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Commonweale. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſinne of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country: Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was ſo far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were ſuch as were able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt imployed him againſt Me) that I ſo far pitied him, as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, then I hope many other men doe in the ſame Cauſe.

For, he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowreneſſe, which ſome men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their judgement that they cannot ſee any thing of Sinne and Rebellion in thoſe means they uſe, with intents to reform to their Models, what they call Religion; who thinke all is Gold of piety, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeale and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, & ſo moſt liable to thoſe downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves or others.

That which makes me more pity him is, that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſinne, and reparation of his duty to Me, He ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Juſtice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have

have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to believe they would not after abuſe it, ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but onely prayers and praiſes.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a noteable monument of unproſperous diſloyalty, teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraigne carries always its own vengeance, as an unſeparable ſhadow with it, and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the firſt Imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though 'tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtaines a mans Honour, as wilful perpetrations of unworthy actions; which beſides the conſcience of the ſinne, brands with moſt indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to poſterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the moſt impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, ſuffer me not to take

any ſecret pleaſure in it; for as his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me, ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, and conſider the affront againſt me more then the ſin againſt thee.

Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of mine, haſt made his miſchiefe to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy worke, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.

I do not, I dare not ſay, ſo let mine enemies periſh O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.

Let not thy juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have moſt offended me in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive, who bear moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy Majeſty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the lighting of this Thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, be a terrour to all.

Diſcover to them their ſinne, who know not they have done amiſſe; and ſcare them from their ſinne,

ſinne, that ſinne of malicious wickedneſſe.

That, preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy ſervant in mercy, and truth meeting together; let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſſe and peace, kiſſing each other.

Heare my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy ſake; who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and haſt ſent thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſt to die for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.

9. *Upon the liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the* KING.

I Finde that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was when they forced Me to leave *White-hall:* what Tumults could not doe, an Army muſt; which is but Tumults liſted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receſſe hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soule invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am ſure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancy, as to feare him more then man: and to love the inward peace of My Conſcience, before any outward tranquillity.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force; becauſe they have not reaſon wherewith to convince Me? O My Soule! be of good courage, they confeſſe their known weakneſſe, as to truth and Juſtice, who chooſe rather to contend by Armies then by Arguments

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many Acts of Grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many Indignities I have

have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING but by My ſufferings? It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King, that loves his People, and deſires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civill War in the bowels of My moſt flouriſhing Kingdom, the fruits I muſt now reap, after 17 years living and reigning among them, with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape; rather through ill counſell of ſome men driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhnes of others envying thy publike ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State, then any propenſity, I hope, of my ſelf either to injuriouſnes or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent bloud during My Reigne have I ſhed, to ſatisfie My luſt, anger, or covetouſneſſe? what Widowes or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt me, the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with My own bloud? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any reſpect of Perſons.

In vaine is My Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have ſtudied to ſee what ground of Juſtice is alledged for this Warre againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoone end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeemes rather the productions of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantonneſſe of minds, or of private diſcontents, Ambition & Faction (which eaſily find, or make cauſes of quarrell) then any reall obſtructions of publick Juſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in My own Conſcience; however ſome men are not willing to believe Me, leſt they ſhould condemne themſelves.

When I firſt with drew from *White-hall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolency of the Tumults, of the not ſuppreſſing of which no account in Reaſon can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted, but only to oppreſs both Mine and the Two Houſes fredome of declaring & voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeeme ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the [illegible] of Parliament?

But ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryal, (warned by My Lord

of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſors, and Judges of their Judges, was from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures to preſerve themſelvs. If any others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of Juſtice and freedom ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty and ſafety, it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man; when the ſole expoſing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborne the Freedom and Honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences; I know no man ſo dear to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe Sentence, according to Law, I think every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelvs to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrones; nor compelled to abet

by

by their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſignes of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruin both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſſe; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then Safety, Fulneſſe, and Freedom.

But, the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in faire and Parliamentary wayes, by free deliberations, & Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift & terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peeres, carried for them by far the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by tumultuary inſtigations obtruded againe, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peeres were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner, was the Bill againſt Root & Branch brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and ſchiſmatical Terrours; which could never paſſe, till both houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To

To which Partiality, while in all Reaſon, Juſtice and Religion, My conſcience forbids Me by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazzard My owne, and My Kingdomes ruine, by My Defence; or proſtrate My Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, than utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolical, and anciently Univerſall Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it, Mine much more; who, beſides the grounds I have in My judgement, have alſo a moſt ſtrikt and indiſpenſable Oath upon My Conſcience, to preſerve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, (moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury,) moſt un-beſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving My conſent be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much, as the leaſt ſinne hath more evill in it, then the greateſt affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopall Faction at firſt in this point, with My conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſticall Government, and Revenues, to

the

the fury of their covetousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednes to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, & Honour for My sake, & the Common-weals; which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot adde My consent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolicall; and so very Sacred and Divine, as not to be dispensed with, or destroyed; when what is only of civill Favor, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when, I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a Warre; being only such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My owne and other mens Consciences.

After

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made; which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence againſt violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt Me. Wherein I was ſo farre from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might ſeeme to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows, I had not ſo much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and effectually repreſſed by exemplary Juſtice, and the liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either Houſe might with Honour and Freedome, becomming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this being My neceſſity driving, the other My choiſe deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the ſame judgement and conſtancy, which I carry with Me, which would never fit their deſignes: and ſo while they invited Me to come, and grievouſly complained of My abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and

and popular pretext of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, & their Exciters, which drave My ſelfe, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet in all reaſon and Honour, they were as loath to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſigne in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequell ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number, or elſe they were meerly conſequentiall, and acceſſary, after the War was by them unjuſtly began.

I

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearneſs of judgement might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affaires betweene us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſigne, either to ſtop My mouth, or to force My conſent: and in this truth, as to My conſcience, (who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this War, on My ſide, I doe not think My Innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe My Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affaires; Thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thy Omniſcience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my ſoule, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes.

Conſider My enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with deadly hatred, without a cauſe.

For

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, design or preparation to embroyle My Kingdomes in a Civill Warre; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gaine least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy Warre; and which were better spent to save then to destroy my People.

O Lord; I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered same men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by Warre, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeeme my People from this miserable Warre; since thou O Lord knowest my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloudy and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment

joyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counsells.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in Warre.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falshood.

Thou knowest the chief designe of this Warre is, either to destroy My Person, or force My Judgment, and to make me renege my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids choise; and desire rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercy be cruell) then into thy hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire; Better they destroy Me, then thou shouldest damne Me.

Be thou ever the defence of My soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will satisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdomes, or thy temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by Mine owne Subjects hands.

But âlet the blood of Me, though their King, yet a sinner, be dashed with the blood of My Inno-

cent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Juſtice, will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary ſatisfaction; both for my ſins, and the ſins of my People; whom I beſeech thee ſtill owne for thine; and when thy wrath is appeaſed by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my Father, for they know not what they doe.

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10. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am Charged with the firſt raiſing of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre, the eyes that only pitty me, and the Loyall hearts that durſt only pray for me, at firſt, might witneſſe, which yet appear not ſo many on my ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt me; my unpreparedneſſe for a War may well diſ-hearten thoſe that would help me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingneſs to fight, yet it teſtifies for me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my ſelf, or to preſerve what is mine own from their preception. No

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much beforehand in their preparations againſt Me, and ſurpriſalls of My ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe My Innocency, and unpreparedneſſe to aſſert My Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their eſteeme; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt Me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew My chiefeſt Armes left Me, were thoſe only, which the Ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe aagainſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Teares. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to Suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and ſurprizing My Caſtles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Militia, is ſo farre beſt for me, That it may drive me from putting any truſt in the arme of fleſh, and wholly to caſt my ſelf into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurpriſall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew me the ſpeciall ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* so much in reference to My own portection as My Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve Me, I am above My owne; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of making Me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I shall become a support to My Friends, and a Terrour to My Enemies by being unable to succour the one, or suppresse the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to Me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingship; as without any reality of power, so without any necessity of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique Charme, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aery imagination of Regality.

But, I believe, the surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Soveraigne Power in Subjects seldome agreeing with the stomacks of fellow-Subjects.

Yet

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *Militia* fought, by ſatisfying their feares, and importunities, both to ſecure My Friends, and overcome Mine Enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving My ſelfe of a ſole power to help, or hurt any: yeilding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no leſſe than the Crown) to be diſpoſed of, as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealouſies, in them, of Me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to My ſelfe; I deſire not to be ſafer than I with them and My People; if I had the ſole actuall diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further than they protected Me, and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My ſelf ſo far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their owne evill merits and deſignes, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince Power hath been wreſted from Me, and imployed againſt Me & Them, that neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath entruſted the publique ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of Mine as to the

exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men; which seem to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are resolved to transmit to posterity such Jealousies of the Crowne, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice, due to My Successors, forbid Me to yeild to such a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility & duty (no lesse then justice & honour) should have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypse My owne beames, to satisfie their feares, who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Lawes have invested Me; yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Posterity, and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights, from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine; which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to My Subjects, whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions, which

which muſt needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a ſhew to the People to have more eyes to foreſee, ſo they will find it hath more mouthes too, which muſt be ſatisfied: and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſity, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counſell may be in many as the ſenſes, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily, when men have tried the horrours and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkneſſe and Eclypſe, (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefeſt light from Me) they will at length more eſteem and welcome the reſtored glory and bleſſing of the Suns light.

And, if at preſent I may ſeem by My receding ſo much from the uſe of My Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt, to which I am ſworn for My Peoples protection, I conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if ſo it may ſeem) who compell Me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging My truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting My Subjects, by expoſing My ſelf to danger or diſhonour, for their ſafety and quiet.

Which, in the conflicts of Civill Warre and

advantages of Power, cannot be effected but by some side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publique Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite Me, then can be expected from doubtfull mens fears; which arising from the injustice of their Actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safety then that of the Sword and *Militia*, which yet are but weak defences against the stroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake all of mens own Consciences, which always attend injurious pretentions.

For My self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providentiall necessity is pleased to take from Me, in order to My Peoples tranquillity and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for Me and beloved, by his being with Me, abundantly compensate to Me, as he did to *Job*, whatever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himself can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Armes and *Militia*; all refuge by Land, of Forts, and Castles; all flight by Sea in My Ships, and Navie; yea, though they study to rob Me of the Hearts of My Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive Me of My own innocency,

innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obſtruct My way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me. There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee. In the loſſe of all, be thou more than all to me. Make haſt to ſuccour me, thou that never faileſt them, that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me. But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou neglecteſt not in my ſafety, and proſperity, behold here I am, willing to be reduced to what thou will have me; whoſe Judgments oft begin with thy owne Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayſt be all.

Thou haſt taught me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide; yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall

not

not feare what man can doe unto Me. I will give thy justice the glory of my distresse.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that persecute my soule!

By my sinnes have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy subject; and justly mayst thou, by my owne Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclypse my glory.

But shew thy self, ô my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine Enemies say, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marveilous loving kindnesse, ô thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly Enemies that compasse me about.

Shew me the path of life: In thy presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

II. *Upon the 19. Propoſitions firſt ſent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My owne ſafety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too deare a rate ſave onely the parting with My Conſcience & Honour. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable, and inglorious, as My Enemies can make or wiſh Me.

Some things here propounded to me have been offered by me; Others are eaſily granted; The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me, with the point of the Sword; not urged with the injuries of a Warre; when I have already declared that I cannot yeild to them, without violating my Conſcience: 'tis ſtrange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon my ſoul.

Here are many things required of me, but I ſee nothing offer'd to me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for thoſe favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe me, to put me on

on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot aske more than I can give, may I but reserve to My self the incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repaire or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to Me; and while I have any mastery of My Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a KING, or a good Christian. My yielding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of My Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me, but the love of Truth, and inward peace, hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken My outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of My Conscience, which ought to be, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to Me than My Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing, and give too much incouragement to unreasonable Demands, or importunities.

But to bind My self to a generall and impli-

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cite consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King, by His own Subjects; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdome, as He doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented, not only to bind his own hands, and cut off his haire, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistins* might with the more safety mock, and abuse him; which they chose rather to doe, then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, seemes an arrogancy, least of all becomming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who, by that, sufficiently confesse their own inferiority; which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason, to Consent, or Dissent; else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me,

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in Reaſon, as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe minds may be as differing from mine both in Reaſon & Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which laſt God & the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making me their Soveraign, and them my Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoone prove violent oppoſitions, if once they gain to be neceſſary impoſitions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man ſeeks to limit and confine his King, in Reaſon, who hath not a ſecret aime to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me truſt to their moderation, & abandon mine own diſcretion; that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of my own ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſell of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of my ſelfe, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in my Soul, and the Majeſty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires

of

of those men, who will not admit, or doe refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others, Sitting and Voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these Propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed me, how well they can Governe themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehues*; and whose forwatdnesse to ascend the throne of Supremacy portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evill customes to preter-

preter-legall, and abuſes perſonall had been to be removed; or ſome injuries done by My ſelfe, and others, to the common-weale, were to be repaired; or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crowne, being conſidered by them, might fairly induce Me to condeſcend, to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My ſelfe; whom Nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion, bind Me (in the firſt place) to preſerve: without which, 'tis impoſſible to preſerve My People according to My Place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentialls of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard of the Lawes, in force, the wiſdome and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſall practiſe of Chriſtian Churches, the Rights and Priviledges of particular men. Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reforme its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeale and ſpeciall piety

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but with pregnant and ſolid reaſons both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſſe and neceſſity of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kinds, or to theſe ends; Nothing of any Lawes diſ-joynted, which are to be reſtored; of any right invaded; of any juſtice to be un-obſtructed; of any compenſations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reaſon, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty, I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſmes in the Church, and ſo, puniſhable by the Lawes, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and aſſiſtance (chiefly) to demand not only Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novelty, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Lawes againſt them; and a totall extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the maine; other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper, in thoſe which are wrapped up, to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomely.

Nor doe I ſo much wonder at the variety,

and horrible novelty of ſome Propoſitions, (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for.)

This caſts me into, not an admiration, but an extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe judgments free, ſingle, and apart did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remaines in farre the Major part of both Houſes, (if free, and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things; the inſtitution, and the corruption, the Government and the Miſ-government, the Primitive Patterns, and the abberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little, or no Reaſon (as yet produced to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the proſperity of former times in this Church and State, under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence,

gence, or ſupine credulity (believing that all is gold, which is guilded with ſhewes of Zeale and Reformation) their private diſſenting in Judgement to be drawne into the common ſewer or ſtreame of the preſent vogue and humour; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular clamours and Tumults, which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating deſignes, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in My Judgment, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevaile againſt My Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further than I ſee cauſe; for, I look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after Factious and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgment tell Me, that the Propo-

ſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the Major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedome, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament; I ſhould then ſuſpect My own judgment, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want; ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their adviſe; which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdome ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability as to exclude My ſelf; ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as My ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in Nallatures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wiſdome, which makes the Lawes.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to Me, than this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innvations, masked under the name of Reformation; which, in My two laſt famous Predeceſſours dayes, heaved at, and

and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments: But, I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taynt the Major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; ſome thirſting after nothing more, than a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them down; If the ſtraitneſſe of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others do of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they have no more cauſe to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet, by Gods help, I

am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any byas upon my judgment, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for fear, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease, and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me that free, and faithfull counsell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving the counsel of that mighty Counsellour, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternall Reason, whose wisdome is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy Servant, first, with cleare discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in My Understanding; then so confirme My will and resolution to adhere

to

to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppreſsions of my Enemies may ever inforce me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in My Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt me a King, that I ſhould be leſſe than a Man; and not dare to ſay, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedome is not denied to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?

Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what partiality, and injuſtice, they deny that freedome to Me their KING, *which Thou haſt given to all Men; and which Themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelves; while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their priviledges.*

To Thee I make my ſupplication, who canſt guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our owne thoughts, and other mens propoſalls; which, I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in thoſe difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way plaine before me.

Let not my own ſinfull paſſions cloud, or divert thy ſacred ſuggeſtions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot pleaſe all, I care not to pleaſe ſome men; If I may be happy to pleaſe thee, I need not fear whom I diſpleaſe.

Thou that makeſt the wiſdome of the world fooliſhneſſe, and takeſt in their owne devices, ſuch as are wiſe in their own conceits, make Me wiſe by thy truth, for thy Honour, my Kingdoms generall good, and my own ſoules ſalvation; and I ſhall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The leſſe wiſdome they are willing to impute to me, the more they ſhall be convinced of thy wiſdome directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of croſneſſe, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denyed, out of any fear, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconſiderate advancing any mens deſignes, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by my conſent.

Nor let me be any occaſion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is beſt, by any moroſe or perverſe diſſentings.

Make me ſo humbly charitable, as to follow their adviſe, when it appeares to be for the publique good, of whoſe affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to aſſure Me.

Thou canſt as well bleſſe honeſt errours, as blaſt fraudulent counſels.

Since we muſt give an account of every evill

and

and idle word in private, at thy tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemne Declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they aske, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet, Lord, never suffer Me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or waste of My Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deservedly more Master then My self.

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12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discerne the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of bloud, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious Author or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me, that, when they had

had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloudy opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred by me, being ſo full of ſin againſt God, diſloyalty to my ſelfe, and deſtructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the *Iriſh* Rebels did, was done with my privity (at leaſt) if not by my Commiſſion: But theſe knew too well, that it is no newes for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commiſſion, but againſt my Command, and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the *Iriſh* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But, who ever faile of their Duty toward me, I muſt bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have always done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trialls, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

There-

Therefore, with exquisite malice, they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; Charging me not only with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of losse and dishonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give, the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whose common welfare my interest lies, as much as some mens doth in their perturbations; who think they cannot doe well but in evill times, nor so cunningly as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where, despaire being added to their former discontents, and the feares of utter extirpation

tirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the naturall deſires of liberty; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after rigours, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knowes, as I can with Truth waſh my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Teares, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo farre, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions, and jealouſies here in *England*, made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafety, or deſignes they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whoſe teares and bloud might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt, for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civill diſſentions, and Jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate then my ſelfe; I offered to goe my ſelf in Perſon upon that ex-

expedition; But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdome quieted, or loath they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſſe then my ſelf; or that any ſhould have the glory of my deſtruction but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſts needs be, who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it, by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebells to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not onely to the known heads, and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, Men, Women, and Children; without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive feares, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecility for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I think) un-evangelicall Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples,

who

who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary Juſtice, yet diſarme others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſome kind of Zeal counts all merciful moderation, luke-warmneſſe, and had rather be cruell then counted cold, and is not ſeldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harme he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficiall, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and overborne with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) were diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probability (unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve

ſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knowes with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carried on that buſineſſe, by perſons of Honour and Integrity, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebells Inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſity & difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to ſuffer again in my reputation and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devoure the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that, in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety; If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart; and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on by thoſe, that had better skill to let bloud than to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is falſe and evill, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, ſo I can have comfort to appeale to his omniſcience, who doth not

not therefore deny my Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo farre to try my patience, as he did his ſervant *Job's*.

I have enough to doe to look to My own Conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of My Truſt as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarmes of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouthes and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks doe out of a Fornace; Much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction, who, conſcious to their owne depth of wickedneſſe, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to doe well, and heare ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to beare the other.

I thank God I can heare with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can falſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill doe better than they deſire, or deſerve I ſhould.

I believe it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroyle my other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not-timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (what ever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay, or thinke) I looke upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhauſted out of my own veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as my

ſelfe;

ſelfe; And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length ſay to his juſtice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civill Warres to ſheath it ſelf: his mercifull juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure; the abatement of our ſins, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once againe, which I and my Kingdomes have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we crucifie one another. Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiſed in Charity, thou haſt ſuffered a Spirit of Errour and bitterneſſe, of mutuall and mortall hatred to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appeare to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgments, for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſinnes, and remove thy judgments which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſinnes be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgments; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; firſt, give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdomes.

In the ſea of our Saviours blood drowne our ſinnes, and through this red ſea of our owne blood bring us at laſt to a ſtate of piety, peace and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make me ſhare in all my Subjects ſufferings; ſo give me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion: Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruell Zeale hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdomes.

O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poore Proteſtants in Ireland, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

And lead thoſe in the wayes of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe ignorance or errours have ſtiled them with rebellious and deſtructive principles, which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good ſervice.

Let

Let the hand of thy justice be against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised, or fomented those cruell and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadst pity on Niniveh *for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousnesse makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.*

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the furnace of thy severe justice a Posterity, which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deale with Me, not according to mens unjust reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdomes calamities; if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloudy distractions; then let thy hand be against me, and my Fathers house.

O Lord, thou seest I have Enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knowest right well; But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies; Spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so farre, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Party, before My owne interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to aske, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good: I pray God it may so prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conforme this Church to their late New modell, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes

flouriſhes for Religion and Libery) ſave only to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which deſigne and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent means, before the divine Juſtice, I leave to their Conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and croſneſſe of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that form, which they cry up as the only juſt reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion, or ſome ſelf-ſeeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Diſcretion, for any forraigne State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines only for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations; That

may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such rough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed. Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by faire and equall disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences; whom not force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their designe now seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equall one: For, it was concluded, there, that the *English* Clergy must conforme to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard, what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in their points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than Scholars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters of Religion those truths gaine most on mens Judgments and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices;

and

and is unreasonable to be used, till such meanes of rationall conviction hath beene applied, as, leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemnes mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*, who, being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soone renounce both their former opinion and practise, onely because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force, assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the only institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government, yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given this *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of My Kingdomes, without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the chief Governours of States, where they lived is very clear in the Gospell; but that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian bloud; whose effusions run in a stream so contrary to that of the primitive Planters, both of Christianity and Espiscopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many Solemne obtestations, and pious threatnings, but only this; to represent to me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a Warre; which some men chiefly on this designe at first had begun, and now further ingaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patterne, set up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery

bytery seekes to suppresse, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more markes of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall way of the Church-government, and specially as to the particular Lawes and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I see more Rationall and Religious motives, then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapsacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdome, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, & his Churches good; which I think my self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above mine Own; and the salvation of mens Soules above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sinne and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designes, till they have first gained

my

my consent, and resolved both my own and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or settle my Religion, nor any mans else, who knowes what Religion means, and how farre it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions, especially those, that have some temptation of gaine, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me, then I wondred, how those here could so much distrust Gods assistance, who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation, considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Armes and Ammunition, My Navy by Sea, my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But

But I find, that men jealous of the Justifiableneſſe of their doings, and deſignes before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carry their worke on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come into their aſſiſtance, others of them ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſs by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemnes; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargable, more then charitable aſſiſtance. For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed, at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed government and diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendome for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the filmes

filmes and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designes; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can those confederations or designes be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted Me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and respects toward Me, as to make Me to despaire of their returne; when, besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to Me, all Reason and true policy will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crowne, not in their serviceablenesse to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honour for their own advantages: However, the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply My self to God.

The Troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of My distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver Me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyne in hand, yet let them not

pre-

prevaile againſt My ſoule, to the betraying of My Conſcience, and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turne the hearts of thoſe parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of Judah *and* Iſrael, *to reſtore* David *with as much loyall Zeale, as they did with inconſtancy and eagerneſſe purſue him.*

Preſerve the love of thy Truth and uprightneſſe in me, and I ſhall not deſpaire of my Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou canſt ſoone cauſe the overflowing Sea to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O my God, I truſt in thee; let me not be aſhamed; let not my Enemies triumph over me.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſſe without a cauſe; let them be turned back that perſecute my Soule.

Let integrity and uprightneſſe preſerve me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. *Upon*

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THE *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries, nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and faire pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or raise Episcopacy. This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemne a charme and exorcisme be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universall prescription of time and practise in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it. Presbytery, like a young Heyre, thinks the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair & Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although

Although I am unsatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant (ſome referring to My ſelfe with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the deſigne and drift touching the Diſcipline & Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths & Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſſe, then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no cleare morall neceſſity, but very diſputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that Judgement, and certainty in ones ſelfe, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuſes faire and equable deliberations, yea, and diſſentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People muſt needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements bound men ſufficiently, to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken, to maintein the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*: ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politique and seemingly-pious stratagems, they think to keep the populacy fast to their Parties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest & wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound, by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Lawes, to God and Man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few Men in a declared Party, without My Consent, and without any like power or precedent from Gods or mans laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall & eternall bounds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects consciences both to God and Me.

Yet, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies: since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant, in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then such ends and meanes they cannot think themselves engaged, nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience, endevour to carry on the best designes (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparantly factious & ambitious)

by

by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized novelties, before their knowne and ſworne duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelfe.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many, who took the Covenant, are yet firme to this judgment, That ſuch later Vowes, Oathes, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings, and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oathes were made upon their Soules.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practiſe, to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who ayme to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Conſciences no longer, then force attends.

and twiſts them: for every man ſoone growes his owne Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelfe of thoſe ties, which, not the commands of Gods word, or the Lawes of the Land, but onely the ſubtilty and terrour of a Party caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vaine, when they were ſufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments they find the Impoſers really ayming to diſſolve, or ſuſpend their former, juſt, and neceſſary obligations.

Indeed, ſuch illegall waies ſeldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Deſigne intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, though diverſe or contrary; with any ſalvoes, cautions, and reſervations, ſo as they croſſe not their chiefe Deſigne which is laid againſt the Church, and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Party; So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I believe many that

that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all piety and loyalty; who firſt yeilded to it, more to prevent that immi-nent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads, in caſe they wholly refuſed it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſome generall Clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to re-lieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for, theſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience, which are certaine and fixed, either in Gods Lawes, as to the generall; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exerciſe of mens duties.

I would to God, ſuch, as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themſelves within thoſe lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhneſſe of taking it: which muſt needs then appeare, when beſides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at firſt to enjoyne it, it ſhall actually be carried on be-yond and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep

it within ſuch bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelf, or the Publique Peace: Againſt which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partiall adviſe of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile temper, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profeſſion, and practiſe) ſuch foule ſcandals and ſuſpitions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whoſe judgments I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward than My ſelf to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartiall adviſe) be, by Gods Word, and right reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe, I have offered more than ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequele of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacy into Preſbytery,

bytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights than the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the fattest Deer, must be destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown, with My Consent) so I have alwayes had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands,

which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to doe: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred employment of all due incouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encreaſe the Task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the red ſea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either It, or Him, who eſteems it His greateſt Title to be called, and His chiefeſt glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its juſt fruitions, equally abhorring Sacriledge, and Apoſtacy.*

I had rather live as my Predeceſſour *Henry* 3. ſometime did, on the Churches Almes, then violently to take the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts, & People, is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queenes, which have beene nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers, and Stepmothers they will be.

If

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England*, cannot excuſe the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſſe than a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are wayes enough to repaire the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſſour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be acceſſary to either.

To thee, O Lord, doe I addreſſe My prayer, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, morall, and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Conſciences; From which no pretenſions of Piety and Re-

formation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practiſes.

Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the Zeale of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not ſacrilegious deſignes to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy ſervant from conſenting to perjurious and ſacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all poſterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treaſures are Exhauſted, My Revenues Diminiſhed, and My Debts Encreaſed, yet never ſuffer Me to be tempted to uſe ſuch prafane Reparations, leſt a coal from thine altar ſet ſuch a fire on My Throne and Conſcience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which ſome mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occaſion to impoveriſh thy Church.

The State may ſoon recover, by thy bleſſing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in

times,

times, where the Charity of moſt men is growne ſo cold, and their Religion ſo illeberall.

Continue to thoſe that ſerve Thee and thy Church all thoſe incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the juſtice of the Lawes are due unto them; and give them grace to deſerve and uſe them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poore; That thy Prieſts may be clothed with righteouſneſſe, and the poore may be ſatisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not ſatisfied.

Let thoſe ſacred morſels, which ſome men have already by violence devoured, never digeſt with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottenneſſe to their names, a moth to their Families, and a ſting to their Conſciences.*

Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent and ſacrilegious Confederations, to doe wickedly and injuriouſly.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have hendyed together againſt the Church and State, that the folly of ſuch may be manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.

But ſo favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the moſt High, I may never miſcarry.

15. *Upon*

15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stirre up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seeme to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designes: For, I can more willingly lose My Crownes, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms so dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead & gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too might

might at once blow up their affections, and batter downe their loyaltie.

Wherein yet, I thanke God, the detriment of My Honour is not ſo afflictive to Me, as the ſin and danger of My peoples ſoules, whoſe eyes once blinded with ſuch miſts of ſuſpicions, they are ſoon miſ-led into the moſt deſperate precipices of actions: wherein they doe not onely, not conſider their ſin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Deſtroyers; Imagining they then feare God moſt, when they leaſt honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pity was above My anger; nor have My paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt Me, as to exclude My moſt compaſſionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more than their owne malice have betrayed to a moſt religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that moſt part of My Subjects fought againſt My ſuppoſed Errours, not My Perſon; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God, pardoning their Errours, hath ſo farre accepted and anſwered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved Me, ſo he hath by theſe afflictions prepared Me, both to doe him better ſervice, and My people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I doe not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyaltie.

The sense of the Injuries done unto My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My selfe; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then My selfe, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly

neſtly deſire, and whoſe ſeduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraigne Enemies, I could have borne it; but they muſt be My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the reſtoring of whoſe tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently fore-ſee, that by the divided Intereſts of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather encreaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then Rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happineſſe; if it could expiate or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray My own juſt Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of My Enemies; between whoſe malice, and other mens miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyaltie.

As Liars need have good Memories, ſo Malicious

licious Persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy, and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to beare, and My charity to forgive, then My leisure to Answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My owne Vindication, I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authours to be punished by their owne evill manners, and seared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those blacke and false Scandalls, which they have cast on Me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them; or Civility (I need not say Loyalty) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the People, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquy and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honour.

First,

First, nothing gave Me more cauſe to ſuſpect and ſearch My owne Innocency, then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular piety; For this gave to vulgar minds ſo bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or ſpeake well of Me, and not to Blaſpheme Him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thanke God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, than forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo religious Pretenſions, as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many wel-minded Men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as thinke it no ſinne to lie for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſſe of the means uſed,

nor

nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſs of theſe mens judgments muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancie of My Religion in the Proteſtant Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor doe I know any exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſs in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me, and My People.

Contrary to thoſe well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſetled in the Confeſſion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the moſt calme, and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing

lieving it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were my Subjects, any way fight againſt My Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it: eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they imploied, or what they ſaid, or did, ſo they might prevaile.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would be eſteemed, ſhould not conceive, That differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſs of duty, Alleg ance, and ſubjection. The firſt they owe as men, and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond, they owe to Me in Common, as their KING: different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in Civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who find moſt fault with me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foule and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to enforce Me, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My ſelf.

Nor did I more than is lawful for any King, in ſuch exigents to uſe the aide of any his Subjects.

I am ſorry the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their Allegiance, than many Proteſtant Profeſſours; who ſeem to have learned, and to practiſe the worſt Principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in Me, (and very pleaſing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then diſputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was diſputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no leſs then their prayers as Chriſtians.

The noiſe of My Evill Counſellours was another uſefull device for thoſe, who were impatient any mens counſels but their owne, ſhould be followed in Church or State; who were ſo eager in giving Me better counſel, that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedome, as a Man, or honour, as a King; making their counſels more like a drench that muſt be powred down, than a draught which might be fairly and leiſurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not juſtifie beyond humane errours and frailties My ſelfe, or My Counſellours: They might be ſubject to ſome miſcarriages,

yet

ver such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormous extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Councels, that My worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer to Me, or My self any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeeme either Me or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were sorry to see me prone even to injure my self, out of a Zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Concessions; and, withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the

comfort and reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian Patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their deſignes, was, The noiſe and oſtentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe; which is to doe what ever man likeſt beſt.

If the Divineſt liberty be to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Lawes, and Religion; I envie not My Subjects that Liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy My ſelf; So farre am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me ſo prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſignes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peeres, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Lawes allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Orna-

Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth its rule and direction; loſing juſtly his Safety, while he ſeeks an unreaſonable Liberty.

Time will beſt inform My Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt Preſervers of their true liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſſe againſt, or beyond the Lawes.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-ſubjects liberties, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints, againſt all Lawes, both Divine and Humane; under which, yet, I will rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to complete their mirth, and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared, how little I deſire My Lawes and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the onely King of mens Conſciences, and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as command them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake;

giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then, with meekneſſe and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publique Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principall) impulſives to their popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentifull Eſtates they got, and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent, and My ſelfe expoſed to all thoſe contempts which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungratefull inſolencies of My People.

For Mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that, as Mine Innocency is cleare before God, in point of any calumnies they object, ſo My reputation ſhall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelfe to ſuch a degree of ſplendour, as thoſe ſeraſh Birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious,

than thoſe whom God hath ſuffer'd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the juſt and mercifull God will doe Me good, for ſome mens hard, falſe, and evill ſpeeches againſt Me; wherein they ſpake rather what they wiſh, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honour, by thoſe rude & ſcandalous Pamphlets (which like fire, in great conflagrations, flie up and downe to ſet all places on like flames) than thoſe men doe, who pretending to ſo much piety, are ſo forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their KING againſt any of thoſe, who, contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *ſpeake evill of dignities, and bring railing accuſations againſt thoſe*, who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing *God* ſhould not Honour their *King*.

They will eaſily contemne ſuch ſhadowes of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majeſty, in compariſon of whom all the glory of Men & Angels is but obſcurity; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine Authority, and ſacred power upon Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black veiles be able to hide the

ſhining of My face, while God gives Mee heart frequently & humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true glory and majeſty.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt My reproach, and My diſhonour, My Adverſaries are all before thee.

My Soule is among Lyons, among them that are ſet on fire, even the Sons of Men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows, their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine Enemies reproach Me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt Me are ſworne together.

O My God, how long ſhall the ſons of men turn my glory into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanity, and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproaches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt My Enemies prevaile againſt me, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou, ô Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak lies; the Lord will abhor both the bloud thirſty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteouſneſſe to appear as the light, and mine innocency to ſhine forth as the Sunne at noone day.

Suffer not my ſilence to betray mine innocence, nor my diſpleaſure, my patience; That, after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile againe; and, being curſed by them, I may bleſſe them.

Thou

Thou that wouldſt not ſuffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpuniſhed, when by thy judgments on* David *he might ſeem to juſtifie his diſdainfull reproaches; give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for theſe my Enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to ſilence their evill ſpeaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience and* Hezekiahs *devotion, that I may looke to thy mercy through mans malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſin.*

Let Sheba's *ſeditious ſpeeches,* Rabſheka's *railing, &* Shimei's *curſing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, ſo, thy renewed bleſſing toward Me.*

Though they curſe, doe thou bleſſe, and I ſhall be bleſſed; and made a bleſſing to my people.

That the ſtone, which ſome Builders refuſe, may become the head-ſtone of the corner.

Looke downe from heaven, and ſave me, from the reproach of them that would ſwallow me up.

Hide me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the ſtrife of tongues.

16. *Upon*

16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Booke.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by those, who, seeking to gaine reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, must needs undoe whatever was formerly setled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdome or godlinesse.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly beares a great part in Religion, (being the Soules more immediate converse with the divine Majesty) nothing could be more plausible to the People than to tel them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgy, or Formes of constant Prayers must be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cashiered & abolished; and, after many popular contempts offered to the Booke, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Lawes in force, it must be crucified

crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary veyne and fluency; or others, who, conscious to their owne formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, & a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnes of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Booke, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it, especially for Popery & Superstition; whereas, no doubt, the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*, and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and prescribed formes, there is no doubt but that wholsome words being knowne and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a wel-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulnesse.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian

ſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Formes of prayer, ſince he prayes to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as wel before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and diſgeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I heare, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their Devotions their owne invention, and gifts, that they not onely diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall patterne of all ſet Liturgies, in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vaine affectations of variety for expreſſions, in Publique Prayer, or any ſacred Adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin, than that which they call Coldneſſe and Barrenneſſe: Nor are men in thoſe novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers (as to their hearts)

than

than in the uſe of conſtant Formes, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the moſt extemporary variety; and very ferquently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Formes of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer, and devotion, than un-premeditated and confuſed variety to diſtract, and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet, and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their owne, and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gift of many learned and godly men; ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compoſe with ſerious deliberation & concurrent adviſe, ſuch Forms of prayers, as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits, (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoul of prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of prayer) than any

private

private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vain, and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſleſſe, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame, Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Formes conſtantly, which are not like to be found, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of Publick compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſſe, order and gravity, becomming thoſe duties, which by this meanes

are

are expoſed at every celebration to every Miniſters private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errours, diſorders, and defects, both for judgment and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans ſeverall manner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the wiſdome and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Lyturgies of Publick compoſure.

The want of which I believe this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in more errours, ſchiſmes, diſorders, and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many; the more is the pity.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and abett thoſe innovations, (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Religion forbids, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the publick Lyturgie.

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partiall ſeverity of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed & maintained the Service-book; or refuſing to uſe it, cryed out of the rigour of Lawes and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their Conſciences, in not uſing it. That

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Lyturgie into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity as not to suffer, without penalty, any to use the Common-Prayer-Book publickly, although their Consciences binde them to it, as a dutie of Piety to GOD, and Obedience to the Lawes.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawfull Constitutions; and whose licentious humours most pretended Conscientious liberties; which freedome, with much regret, they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve Me; whose abilities, even in their extemporary way, come not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, lest, being convinced by the evi-

dence

dence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driven either to ſinne more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to diſpleaſe ſome faction of the people by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I believe they have offended more conſiderable men, not onely for their numbers and eſtate, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than thoſe are, whoſe weakneſſe or giddineſſe they ſought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to ſay *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbeare Reproache, and even Curſings of Me in their own formes, inſtead of praying for Me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their only puniſhment; that ſeeing the miſchiefes which the diſuſe of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Formes of ſound and wholſome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denieſt us not a

new and freſh ſenſe of our old and dayly wants: nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſſions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-adviſed Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the ſame; and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy ſpirituall perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our petitions in them both.

Whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt nowhere either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion, that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.

And, ſince the advantage of Errour conſiſts in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and conſtancy, Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order,

der, under this fallacy, *That constancy is the cause of formality.*

Lord keepe us from formall Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, *and other holy men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.*

Give us wisdome to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeale, and over-bold devotion.

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17. *Of the differences between the* KING *and the two Houses in point of Church-government.*

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintaine it, not so much out of piety, as policy, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such an influence upon Church-men, and they such a dependance on Him, as may

beſt reſtraine the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have ſo far the keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevaile much by their Oratory to let in, or ſhut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that, being (as KING) intruſted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State, I ſee no Reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The moving Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of which I have elſwhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpicion, that I encline to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State affaires: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to his Conſcience.

I muſt now in charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both my judgement is juſtly ſatisfied, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant practiſe of all Chriſtian Churches; till of late yeeres, the tumultuarineſſe of People, or the factioufneſſe and pride of Presbyters, or the covetouſneſſe of ſome States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſome men wits to invent new models, and propoſe them

them under ſpecious titles of *Chriſts Government, Scepter, and Kingdome*; the better to ſerve their turnes, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They muſt give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full, and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbiaſed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles and their immediate Succeſſours the firſt and beſt Biſhops; ſo it cannot in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed, that all Churches in the world ſhould either be ignorant of the rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine and holy patterne: That ſince the firſt Age, for 1500 yeares not one Example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe juriſdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practiſe agreeing with ſo large, and evident Scripture-directions, & examples, as are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling of that Government, not in the perſons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion;

(the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more diſpenſe with, in point of wel-being, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being) I wonder how men came to looke with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſticall uſe of them, and Apoſtolicall conſtitution: which to Me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth as to the maine ſcope and deſigne of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter Characters of the qualities and duties of Preſbiter-Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles, who in the latitude and community of the name, were then, and may now not improperly be called *Biſhops*, as to the overſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles, or thoſe Apoſtolicall Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinary power, there aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Preſbyters.

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to that ſpeciall

ſpeciall dignity which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediately from Chriſt, they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Preſbyters; untill uſe (the great arbitrator of words, and maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, (the honour of whoſe name they modeſtly, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpeciall authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpicion or reproach of arrogancy, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolicall propagation rightly deſcended & inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpeciall power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chiefe grounds and limits of all Epiſcopall claime, as from divine right) then are the characters of theſe perilous times and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who, not enduring ſound doctrine, and cleare teſtimonies of all Churches practiſe, are moſt perperſe diſputers, and proud Uſurpers, againſt

true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytors and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers seek to over-lay & smother the pregnancy & authorty of that power of Episcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publique) that I had faire grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Ecclesiasticall examples, whereon My judgement was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed Me; who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to Me as to recompence the injuries and losses I, and My deareſt relations with My Kingdomes, have sustained, and hazarded, chiefly, at first, upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which Scripture is the best rule, and the Churches Universall practice the best commentary, but also in right reason, & the true nature of Govern-

ment,

ment, it cannot be thought that an orderly subordination among Presbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civill Governments, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeverall orders, & a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſme and diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolicall wiſdome (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdome and piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſetled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed, and injoyed in thoſe times, which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the mannaging of this

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Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsell and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoyd those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoyd Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affaires, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magisteriall; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoyding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to rise among equals in power & function; but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine, touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My selfe in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I finde they have, as farre lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so, for examples,

amples, and practice of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories, they are wholy deſtitute, wherein the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivolet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded examples of ſome late reformed Churches, (for many retain Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſſity of times and affaires rather excuſeth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never ſee any reaſon why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Biſhops ſhould be forced to conforme to thoſe few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation; and to thoſe Churches at this day, who, Governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian world, are many more then Preſbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms, lately Governed by Biſhops, would equalize (I thinke) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wiſdom or charity, where Chriſtians differ, (as many do in ſome points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Chriſtian world (except a handfull of ſome Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandall in point of Church-government; whom though you may convince of their Errours in ſome points of Doctrine, yet you

ſhall

ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolicall: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks, (except thoſe Aerians) have ſtrayed from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late generall approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdomes, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their novelty; I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did or that they did confirm contrary to their conſciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free & impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, againſt their obedience to the Lawes in force, and againſt My conſent, have not only quite cryed down the government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegall ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the

the ſelling away, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſticall uſes: ſo great a power hath the ſtream of times, & the prevalency of parties over other mens judgements; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo totall change little reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh itſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacy will appeare the greateſt Enemies to, & Betrayers of their own intereſt: for Presbytery is never ſo conſiderable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters will finde as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People and of Princes, as Plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poore carcaſſe they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs; I am firme to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Diſcretion without paſſion might eaſily reforme, whatever the ruſt of time, or indulgence of Lawes, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a groſſe

vulgar

vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which My Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men, I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peaceable times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanness exposing them, and their Authority to the contempt of licentious mindes, and manners; which persecuting times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those incouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgement of men failed, My good intention made My errour veniall: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours to be redeemed from

that

that vulgar neglect, which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtrain them) wil neceſſarily follow both the Preſbyterian party, which makes all Miniſters equall; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Epiſcopacy; wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſign or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Me their KING and Soveraigne, as ſome men have endeavoured to do, againſt all theſe grounds of My Judgement, to conſent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more than I doe, That the Church ſhould be governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other waies, who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy & ſolitude; when one Preſbyter might ſerve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over

thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government, being neceſſary for the Churches welbeing, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority, they had above others; which could not end with their perſons; ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt Primitive and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyall paſſions had not ſo blown up ſome mens minds againſt it, that what they want of Reaſon or Primitive Patterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſome mens zeale for Biſhops Lands, Houſes, and Revenues hath ſet them on worke to eate up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteem) to Me is no leſſe ſin, than Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given againe to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelfe.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable

to

to My judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulnesse of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon, with Judgemen, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade Me at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacriledge and Perjury? besides the many personall Injustices I must doe to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Lively-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tendernesse of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to Consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedom which every man ought to preserve; and of which they seem so tender of their own Votes; yet at the same time those men will needs perswade Me

That I muſt, and ought to diſpence with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binds Me (agreeable to the beſt light of reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange My Oath ſhould be valid in that part, which both My ſelf, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very naturall and eſſentiall liberty of our ſoules; yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think My ſelf juſtly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſſe, and ſacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civill diſſentions; till I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knowes) I utterly diſlike, and in My Soul abhor; as many wayes highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion: and whereto, if I ſhould ſhamefully, and diſhonourablely give My conſent; yet ſhould I not by ſo doing, ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can My late condeſcending to the *Scots* in point of Churchgovernment, be rightly objected

jected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in My other kingdoms; For it should be considered that Episcopacy was not so rooted and setled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, & at all times.

If any shall impute My yeelding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yeelding to them been so happy and successefull as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did see any thing more of Christ, as to Meekneſſe, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect My judgment to be biassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontedneſſe of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gaine the least reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whose paternes are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, workes of Piety or Charity, have so flourished

beyond what they have done in My Kingdomes (by Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I thinke it far better to hold to primitive and uniforme Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interest of good Bishops, humble Presbyterers, and sober People; so as Church affaires should be mannaged neither with tyranny, purity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of My Judgment and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For Thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse, and tendernesse, as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence, to be overborn against my Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintaine thine owne Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath

been

been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard, either to pitty, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING, *yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve, from ſacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſſings, which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their ſinnes and errrours, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wilde Boare, and ſubtill Foxes, to waſt and deforme thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not beare the infamous brand to all Poſterity of being the firſt Chriſtian KING *in this Kingdome, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church, and the fathers of it; whoſe errours I would rather, with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reforme with meekneſſe,*

than expose their persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, schismes, and disorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

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18. *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other Offers made by the* King.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, than My Sword: I

was

was ſo wholly reſolved to yeeld to the firſt, that I thought neither My ſelfe, nor others, ſhould need to uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expreſſes of My deſires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to uſe Reaſon, than Force; but alſo of Chriſtianity to *ſeek peace and enſue it.*

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My ſelf with Armes, ſo I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill Warre uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the miſchiefe of the means.

Nor did any ſucceſſe I had ever enhance with Me the price of Peace, as earneſtly deſired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I ſought to reſerve was, Mine Honour, and My Conſcience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Chriſtian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy compoſure; had others applied themſelves to it with the ſame moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend, as far as Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, would give Me

leave; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My Peoples happinesse; or of such consequene; as in the least kind to have hindred My Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they better enjoyned both, many years, before ever those demands were made, some of which, to deny, I think the greatest Justice to My self, and favour to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from voilent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in eqnity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in warre, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affaires, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon Me; yet I was willing to condescend so farre to the setling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, than any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeild to all that might seem to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elswhere set down My thoughts more fully)

fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection, as alſo to the primitive Apoſtolicall patterne, and the practiſe of the Univerſall Church conforme thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, onely to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacy, fighting againſt Me) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſſe, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, than Mans Peace, and rather loſe the Churches honour, than croſſe ſome mens Factious humours.

God knows, and time will diſcover, who were moſt too blame for the un-ſucceſsfulneſs of that Treaty, and who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excuſable both before God, and all unpaſſionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions, wherein I endeavoured no leſſe the reſtauration of peace to my people, than the preſervation of my own Crowns to my poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all faire Condeſcendings, as Argumens of feebleneſſe, and glory moſt in an unflexible ſtifneſſe, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwaies

to

to aſke ſomething, which in reaſon and honour muſt be denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of Warre; endeavouring firſt to make Me deſtroy My ſelfe by diſhonourable conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſſe to doe.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world ſee, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or Negations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſigne of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our owne reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the unſucceſsfulneſſe of any Treaty, was, ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat: which implied ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſſe they were loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper

per to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counſellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gaine by our Prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beſeeching them to bee reconciled with thy ſelfe: who wanteſt not power, or juſtice, to deſtroy them; yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy ſelfe, and both to procure and preſerve peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians, How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to Warre.

Condemne us not to our paſſions, which are deſtructive, both of our ſelves, and of others.

Cleare up our underſtandings, to ſee thy Truth, both in Reaſon, as Men; and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

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Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts againſt thee: & give us that charity which ſhould be among our ſelves.

Remove the evils of Warre we have deſerved, and beſtow upon us that Peace, which only Chriſt our great Peace maker cannot merit.

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19. *Upon the various events of the Warre; Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappy war, have at leaſt, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: ſometimes God was pleaſed to try Me with victory, by worſting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and uſe his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*; able when he pleaſes to repreſſe the confidence of thoſe, that fought againſt Me, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part he let Me ſee, that I was not wholly forſaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe My patience, and teach Me not to truſt in the arme of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of My Cauſe: & thoſe that were with Me wanted

wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies leſſe puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonall and private ſins may oft-times over-balance the Juſtice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds eſteeme) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of War a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and ſtrength, the leſſe doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſſe can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens Conſciences, nor the eternall fate of their Soules.

Thoſe with Me had (I thinke) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to My juſt Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me, in the point of raiſing Armes.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Feares, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which

which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Lawes: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by listed Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the sword, all their demands against the present Lawes and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them, some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who dyed fighting against Me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applied only to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantageous designes by any Innovation, were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and My self, which lay upon their Soules, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eter-

eternall life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſe; The deſtruction of their bodies being ſanctified, as a means to ſave their ſoules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happineſſe; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutiſh and diſloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt My ſide in the field, but never, I believe, at the Barre of Gods Tribunall, or their owne Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in* their owne thoughts, then they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duely values his duty, his ſoule, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) then the moſt tri-

triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpicious, or now convicted Conſciences do purſue them; eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe & un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the onely plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me, and the Laws eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Countrey doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might joyn true piety with the ſenſe of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own ſoules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any ſhews, or truth of piety on the other ſide were ſufficient to diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens Conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſenſe of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without My

My ſorrow, becauſe it was on Mine owne Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſinne: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat, which made Me deſpaire of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but onely reſtore the Lawes and Liberties of My people; which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with my Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My deſire was neither to boaſt of My power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed at laſt would make all things to work together for my good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over My ſelf. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted Me, which God ſaw beſt for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine juſtice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by puniſhing our ſinnes, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to uſe ſo great a bleſſing.

My often Meſſages for Peace ſhewed, that I delighted not in Warre: as My former Conceſſions ſufficiently teſtified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My totall unpreparedneſſe for it, how little I intended it.

The conſcience of My Innocency forbade Me to feare a Warre; but the love of My Kingdomes commanded Me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing, but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeilded leſſe, I had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the Warre: I wiſh onely a happy concluſion of ſo unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our ſinnes was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the divine juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for, the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide, impaire the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave our ſinnes un-ſubdued; fluſhing our pride,

pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſſe againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another; I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civill Warres, that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to Me, then all of us may be ſubject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach me the nobleſt victory over my ſelf, and my Enemies by patience; which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy hands, the right ſometimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting; faſhion us to that frame of piety thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings which follow our diſaſtrous events; when going forth in our owne ſtrength thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are ſomething, and when

we are nothing; that thou mayst have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evill from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; punishing my selfe in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer: I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed, that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these civill distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firme and blessed Peace to my Kingdomes.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-deniall, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sinnes of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of warre; so for the sinnes of warre thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Ser-

vant,

vant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the bloud of my Subjects, which, with infinite unwillingneſſe and griefe, hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt and neceſſary defence, but waſh me with that pretious bloud, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peace-maker, Jeſus Chriſt; Who will, I truſt, redeeme me ſhortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour me ſo far, as to make Me an Inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee, after the

freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Lawes eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled; which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming; with how much partiality, and popular compliance the paſſions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the publique, and the infinite ſcandall of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church: what novelties of Schiſmes, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt & oppreſſions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Me, have followed (as ſhowres do warm gleames) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and, with My ſelf, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publique ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſels as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo its like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applyed (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church Affaires, I diſlike not further, then that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedome and impartiality can doe any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Lyturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them, (the laſt of which, they knew to be of Apoſtolicall inſtitution, at leaſt, as of Primitive and Univerſall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not, by ſecret incroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judg-

ment and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion against examples of all Ancient Churches, the Lawes in force, and My consent, which is never to be gained against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on My understanding.

For I conceive, that, where the Scripture is not so clear and punctuall in precepts, there the constant and Universall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbytery, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels; and (such I believe) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designes: which, no doubt, many of them by this time discover, though they dare not

not but smother their frustrations, and discontents.

The specious and popular titles, of Christs Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at least) also the noise of a through Reformation, these may as easily be fixed on new models, as faire colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windowes, which Time had sufficiently defaced, pulling down of Crosses, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posterity in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light, wherein they live; The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publik service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of seeming, at least, to consent to the Errours, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other offices; The setting forth also of old Catechismes, and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much, as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before some four or five yeares consultation had matured

their

their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these, and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as Children with Babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompense or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would, at last, make it their Unanimous work, to doe Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Lawes, and long Customes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civill Warre; by the advantages

vantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self & all My Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should forme and set up: If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name used in the pretensions, to reforme all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publique Reformers had need first Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformations, to such private designes as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civill State; nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdome may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs

Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; since as I own mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words, and actions, both against Me and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darknesse, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings, instead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our owne soules.

That we may in clearnesse of judgment, and uprightnesse of heart be meanes to reforme what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us cleane hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may doe all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity

Pity the deformities, which ſome raſh and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſions and confuſions what is the pravity of ſome mens intentions and weakneſs of their judgments, ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetouſneſſe, or ſacriledge, may have any influence upon their counſels, whom thy providence in juſt and lawfull waies ſhall entruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſary worke: that I and my People may be ſo bleſt with inward piety, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſſing of outward peace.

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21. *Upon His Majeſties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which as the malice of Mine enemies could hardly have expected; ſo they knew not how with honour and civility to uſe it; Nor doe I think, with ſober and worthy minds, any thing in them could tend ſo much to My reproach, as the odious

odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: the greateſt experiments of vertue and Nobleneſſe being diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an enemy, and the greateſt obligations being thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could leaſt have expected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and ſecreſie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expoſe them to publique view.

Yet ſince providence will have it ſo, I am content ſo much of My heart (which I ſtudy to approve to Gods omniſcience) ſhould be diſcovered to the world, without any of thoſe dreſſes, or popular captations, which ſome men uſe in their Speeches, and Expreſſes; I wiſh My Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into My moſt retired thoughts.

Where they might diſcover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerve My owne Rights, than to procure their peace and happineſſe, and that extreame grief to ſee them both deceived and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to ſee My conſtancy to My Wife, the Lawes, and Religion.

Bees

Bees wil gather Honey where the Spider ſucks Poyſon.

That I endeavour to avoid the preſſures of my Enemies, by all fair and juſt correſpondencies, no man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth; ſince My Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſoon mens deſign, like *Abſoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all ſides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all reconciliation deſperate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expreſſions can doe them; for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedome in writing ſuch Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of My chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then an happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to My own, then My peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by thoſe My Letters may be convinced,

that

that I can both mind and act My own, and My Kingdomes Affaires, ſo as becomes a Prince, which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath ſhould be believed of me, as if I were were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evill Counſellours.

Its probable ſome men will now look upon me as my own Counſellour, and having none elſe to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my ſelf: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of my own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing me to think their Counſels to be other then good for me, which have ſo long maintained a Warre againſt me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar, with whom proſperity gaines the greateſt eſteem and applauſe, as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ reſpect: As if good fortune were alwayes the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectuall to their designes as those, that most rout and waste my Credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extingish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Lawes, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdomes; First I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall justice can, and will overrule the most perverse wills and designes of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor doe I think, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more than so many papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be pay'd to all men, and most be-

becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, present, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their owne consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they doe but remember how God blest the modest respect and filiall tenderness, which *Noah's* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar; and confirme, by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous, who thought by this means to expose Me to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any reall uncomelinesse; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believe, hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*)

to

to whom they thought, by publishing my private Letters, to have rendred me as a vile Person, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any notion of Majesty.

But thou, ô Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affaires; make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *goood, and his owne ruine; so canst thou defeat their designe, who intended, by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but to render me more odious and contemptible to my People.*

I must first appeale to thy Omniscience, who canst witnesse with my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my Enemies endeavour by those Papers of mine to represent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to returne on their owne heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their owne confusion, as with a Cloake.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of, or by bestowing on me that crowne of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountaine of goodnesse, and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdome, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour, and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

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22. *Upon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Me three Kingdomes, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety & Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God; He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and my now distressed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now My Counsellour, and commands me to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them, may dis-arme and overcome them; my rendering my Person to Them, may engage their affections to me; who have oft protested, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I muſt now reſolve the riddle of their Loyalty; and give them opportunity to let the world ſee, they meane not what they doe, but what they ſay.

Yet muſt God be my chiefeſt Guard; and My Conſcience both My Counſellour and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerve My Soule to God, and My ſelfe; nor ſhall any neceſſities compell Me, to deſert Mine Honour, or ſwerve frome My Judgment.

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſuall confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch, as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deprive me of all Military power to defend My ſelf; but to put Me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affaires, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes be, that their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafety, and their ſafety in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe, that have Adhered to Me, and apply to thoſe that have Oppoſed Me; this method of Peace may be more proſperous, than that of Warre, both to ſtop the effuſion of bloud, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already

already made; and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for My Friends ſafety, than Mine owne; chuſing to venture My ſelfe upon further hazards, rather then expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to give over, than to conteſt in vaine.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce My judgement, and fortifie My mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up My Soules liberty, or make My Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Armes, to have perſwaded My conſent to their new demands.

I thank God, no ſucceſſe darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall no leſſe conforme my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power*.

Reaſon is the divineſt power, I ſhall never think my ſelfe weakned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclypſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denyed of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions; not moroſely to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think my ſelf, leſſe than my ſelf,

while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of my Conscience, the onely Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our Soules, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to doe, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my selfe.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battaile, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest that it is not any perverseness of will, but just perswasions of Honour, Reason, and Religion, which have made me thus farre to be. Zard my Person, Peace, and Safety, against those, that by force have sought to wrest them from Me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conscience always accompany Me, in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason and that fortresse of My Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead

Lead me in the paths of thy righteousnesse, and shew me thy salvation.

Make my wayes to please thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I justifie those *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further, than to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should do it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essays, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of *Ægypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them, yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy my self, which I lose, while I let out my hopes to others.

The

The ſolitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leiſure enough to ſtudy the worlds vanity, and inconſtancy.

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious, and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my Soul in ſin; nor gaine that of me, which may make my Enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got My Perſon into their power; ſince My Soul is ſtill My own: nor ſhall they ever gaine My Conſent againſt My Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy; from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counſellours with me, but a good Conſcience in me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought My mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh me; not more a King,

King, and farre leſſe both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtaine, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The feare of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my ſoule. Better others betray me, than my ſelf; and that the price of my liberty ſhould be my Conſcience: the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my owne conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy My ſelf & mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo dear to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crownes, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more than any Warre can doe; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The Lawes will, by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyaltie of my ſubjects; if I bury them not by My Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour, and injuſtice,

which

which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or Death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples and Posterities thraldome.

After-times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not; and God may at length shew my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them: happily, I might redeeme my self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirme many Tyrants over them: from whom I pray God deliver them, what ever becomes of me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good, and great, art with me, whose presence is better than life; and whose service is perfect freedome.

Owne Me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complaine for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse Me still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with constancy in Justice, as a King.

Though thou sufferest Me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy self; and

which

which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyle over my passion to any impatience, or sordid fears.

There be many say of me, There is no help for me: doe thou lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, and I shall neither want safety, liberty, nor majesty.

Give me that measure of patience and constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Person restrained: ô be not thou far from me, lest my Enemies prevaile too much against me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorne to many: ô be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to me, ô Lord, for my Soule trusteth in thee: yea and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, ô my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I feare none ill.

24. *Upon*

24. *Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplaines.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other Civill comforts & secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of My Chaplaines; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thornes. and after the plowings of temporall crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined Me unto, adds the Wildernesse to my temptations; for, the company they obtrude upon me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those

thoſe things, where the evill policy of men forbids all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould confeſſe an injurious uſurpation: But to deny Me the Ghoſtly comfort of My Chaplaines, ſeems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors; whom though the juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy; as not ayming at once to deſtroy their Bodies, and to damne their Soules.

But My Agony muſt not be relieved with the preſence of any one good Angel; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine: and ſuch I would have all Mine to be.

They that envie my being a King, are loath I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive Me of all things elſe, They are afraid I ſhould ſave My ſoule.

Other ſenſe Charity it ſelf can hardly pick out of thoſe many harſh Repulſes I received, as to that Requeſt ſo often made for the attendance of ſome of My Chaplaines.

I have ſometime thought the Unchriſtianneſſe of thoſe denialls might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had to ſee Me prefer My owne Divines before their Miniſters: whom though I reſpect for that worth and piety

which

which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physitians; who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for that devotional compliance, and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; since their judgments standing at a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consists in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, and some Comforters more miserable then misery it self; when, like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perswade a man, by betraying his owne Innocency, to despair of Gods mercy; and, by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beseeming that sacred Function, that I have hazarded My

own

owne Interests, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it my duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron of them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomly requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings, than their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My speciall Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgment, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, than to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldness, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble and judicious gravity, as shewes the Speaker to be at once considerate of Gods Majesty, the Churches honour, and his owne Vileness; both knowing what things God allows

him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publique Formes of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily & common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn My heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency; which as I doe not wholly exclude from publique occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, doe require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the maine and most necessary requisites both in constant, and occasionall, solitary, and sociall Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minds with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exercised; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe; which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin of railing againſt, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ ſoli*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritæ*, by ſeeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am eſteemed by my Denyers ſufficient of My ſelfe to diſcharge My duty to God as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotall, might will become the ſame Perſon; as anciently they were under one name, & the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better preſidents, if I were able, than thoſe two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crownes, than one was for devout Pſalmes and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables

and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Soules to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdome and providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorry to find My selfe reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty, would no lesse enforce Me to live many Months without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My owne Chaplaine.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My owne, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, than those, which are uncombred with secular affaires: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse attends

tends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men. And however, as to that Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his mirits daily offers it self and its services to God, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royal Priesthood; yet, as to Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modest, and, I think, more pious Principles: the consciousnesse to My Spirituall defects makes Me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Me; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of My Subjects to reduce Me; so as to leave them nothing more, but My life to take from Me, and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny Me, than this of having some meanes afforded Me for My Soules comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no

way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no lesse than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but only this, that they may seem too able and too well affected toward Me and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Me to serve My selfe; though I must confesse I beare with more grief & impatience the want of My Chaplaines, than of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children, since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that, in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary meanes, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me and help My Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Orator or Instructer.

To Thee therefore, O my God, doe I direct my now solitary prayers; what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both

enlighten

enlighten My darkneſſe, and quicken My dulneſſe.

O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat, at once cleare and warme my heart, both by inſtructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe: From thee all ſufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelfe; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.*

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervencie might inflame the coldneſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy Houſe with the voice of joy and gladneſſe, worſhipping thee in the unity of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the houſe top, and as a coale ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might

best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruized Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, doe not despise the weaknesse of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soul in this uncomfortable loneneſſe, in which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denialls of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnesse encline thine eare to me; who art a God easie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear, nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help Mine thy desolate Supplyant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debarre me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord canst at once make me thy Temple, thy

thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart (alone) daily offer up in holy Meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned teares my self to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and accepteſt of me.

Thou, O Lord, didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meal in the veſſell ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyle in the cruſe faile the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which, as a Widow, is now deſolate & forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart, in this famine of ordinary and wholſome food for the refreſhing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuſe than to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than teaching me; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to My deſtruction, (which are clear for their ſubjection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayers) have ſought to devoure the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not thoſe mens balmes break my head, nor

their

their Cordialls oppresse my heart, I will ever more pray against their wickednesse.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and all these Loyall and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soule, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

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25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the KING's solitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve ear to my words O Lord, consider my meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord shouldst be extreme to mark what is done amisse, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayst be feared, therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledg my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of

of My Place adding weight to My offences.

Forgive, I beſeech thee, My Perſonall, and my Peoples ſinnes; which are ſo farre mine, as I have not improved the power thou gaveſt me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou haſt now brought Me from the glory and freedome of a King, to be a Priſoner to my own Subjects: Juſtly, ô Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt thee.

Though thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet inlarge my heart to Thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I come far ſhort of Davids *piety; yet ſince I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my ſins, be an evidence to me, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdomes have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee; though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turn thee (ô Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my heart are enlarged; ô bring thou me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes, which have been for many Generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to

ſee

ſee thy goodneſſe in the land of the living.

Let not the ſinnes of our proſperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall conſume the droſſe, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; Let it, I beſeech thee, be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Baniſh from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee doe thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me an heart to pray unto thee; ſo hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and my Kingdomes; In continuing the light of thy Goſpell, and ſetling thy true Religion among us.

In

In restoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the ancient Rights and glory of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turne the hearts of my people to thy selfe in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of these Civill Wars.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of publique Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolencie of the Vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If Thou wilt restore Me to a capacity to glorifie Thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soule praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crownes; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be My chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with justice, and my Kingdomes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever own

as

as the rightfull succeſsion, ſo the merciſull reſtauration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring Me again with peace, ſafety, and honour, to my chiefeſt City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt againe put the Sword of Juſtice into my hand to puniſh and protect.

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian charity, which I now make unto thee ô Lord.

As I doe freely pardon for Chriſt's ſake thoſe that have offended me in any kind; ſo my hand ſhall never be againſt any man to revenge what is paſt, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually puniſhed in our unnaturall diviſions; for thy ſake, ô Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in my heart, That I will uſe all means in the waies of amneſty, and indempnity, which may moſt fully remove all feares, and bury all jealouſies in forgetfulneſſe.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Heare my prayer, ô Lord, which goeth not out of fayned lips.

Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer;

prayer; nor taken his mercy from Me.

O my ſoule, commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I that I ſhould charge thee foolifhly?

Thou, O Lord, haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon the Armies Surpriſall of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange ſcene of affaires, I am not much ſolicitous; ſince little practiſe will ſerve that man, who onely ſeeks to repreſent a part of honeſty and honour.

This ſurprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be ſo low, but He is conſiderable; adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This

This motion, like others of the Times, ſeems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be reſiſted or quieted: Better ſwim down ſuch a ſtream, than in vain to ſtrive againſt it.

Theſe are but the ſtruglings of thoſe twins, which lately one womb encloſed, the younger ſtriving to prevaile againſt the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeek to catch for themſelves.

So impoſſible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other; ſo much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* ſhould from diviſion fall to confuſion, is no wonder; but for thoſe that pretend to build *Jeruſalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*; and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſſe and diviſions were the greateſt occaſion of the laſt fatall deſtruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Priſon, but not my captive condition; onely with this hope of bettering, that thoſe, who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Liberty of their KING; what they demand for their owne Conſciences, they cannot in Reaſon deny to Mine.

In this they ſeem more ingenuous, than the

Preſbyterian rigour, who, ſometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greateſt Exactors of other mens ſubmiſſion to their novell injunctions, before they are ſtamped with the Authority of Lawes, which they cannot well have without my conſent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themſelves manumitted from their Rivals ſervice, in that they carry on a buſineſſe of ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming My Perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſſion, but that of their own will and power. Such, as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not be thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſigne they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes & the City: which, ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſinne in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of divine juſtice; they, that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armes, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſin,

but adde ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me, and many Members of both Houſes, driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to fly to an Army, to defend themſelves againſt them,

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as My ſelf was forced to do) from the rudeneſſe of the Tumults, were counted Deſertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the only Parliament-men: now the Flyers from, and Forſakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complaine highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary inſolencies, and Betrayers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to preſent Advantages then their conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the

the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done the Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer, any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despaire of their Loyalty to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of My prayers and teares, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which wil certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be

gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfull, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows, who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the councels belonging to their peace. They will finde that Brethren in iniquity are not farre from becomming inſolent enemies; there being nothing harder then to keepe ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gaine a faire period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, than in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publique conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy weare, to be ſubject to the known Laws, then to the various wils of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſts,

intereſts, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the publike peace that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as far as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them then My ſelf: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo far eſteem that valour and gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain My Self, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy juſtice hath divided.

Deliver Me from the ſtrivings of My People, and make Me to ſee how much they need My Prayers and pity, who agreed to fight againſt Me; and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another; to the continuance of My Kingdomes diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the waies of peace, from which they have ſwarved: which conſiſts not in the divided wils of Parties, but in the point and due obſervation of the Laws.

Make Me willing to go whither thou wilt lead Me by thy providence; and be thou ever with Me, that I may ſee thy conſtancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me even ſuch as thou wouldſt have Me; that I may at laſt enjoy that ſafety and tranquillity which thou alone canſt give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath juſtly hanging over thoſe populous Cities, whoſe plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to ſecurity, & their ſecurity expoſing them to unexpected miſeries.

Give them eyes to ſee, hearts to conſider, wils to embrace, and courage to act thoſe things which belong to thy glory and the publique peace, leſt their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in ſinne, nor ſhall they be long undiſarmed and un-deſtroyed, who, with a high hand perſiſting to fight againſt thee and the clear convictions of their owne conſciences, fight more againſt themſelves, than ever they did againſt Me.

Their ſinnes expoſing them to thy Juſtice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confuſion.

Though they have with much forwardneſſe helped to deſtroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not ſo much conſider, either what they have done, or I have ſuffered, (chiefly at firſt by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer,

deemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in My dying extremities to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The teares they have denied Me in My ſaddeſt condition, give them grace to beſtow upon themſelves; who the leſſe they weep for Me, the more cauſe they have to weep for themſelves.

O let not My blood be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of ſome, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But thou, O Lord, canſt, and wilt (as thou didſt My Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Me by My ſufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, then of mans cruelty, or thy own juſtice.

Natus Maij 29. Añ 1630. Ætatis suæ 19.

27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of My Conſcience, and My moſt impartiall thoughts, touching the chiefe paſſages, which hath been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſigned; they may be ſo far uſefull to you, as to ſtate your judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof a pious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give you ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kind of deceiving and leſſening the injury of My long reſtraint, when I finde My leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of My ſelf, and uſefull to you; That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter meaſure My Cauſe by the Succeſſe; nor My Judgement of things, by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, becauſe they have ſo far lighted upon you, & ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love, as well as My ſelf; and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe, then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wiſdome you have above other Princes; that you have begun, and

and now ſpent ſome yeers of diſcretion, in the experience of troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees ſet in Winter) then in the warmth and ſerenity of times; or amidſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue & Honour; or to be contented only with ſome leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, ſuch as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes ſhould alwayes remember they are born, and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions, for a flouriſhing kingdom; the other ſoftned by the unparalel'd proſperity of *Solomons* Court: & ſo corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, & Kingdome, by thoſe flatteries, which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adverſity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you ſhould be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God hath deſigned you to both, having ſo early put you into that exerciſe of his Graces, and Gifts

Gifts beſtowed upon you, which may beſt weed out all vicious inclinations, and diſpoſe you to thoſe Princely endowments, and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign diſpoſer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth downe one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to, is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civill Power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publike Peace.

Piety will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable; nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his owne ſoule at laſt.

To which Center of true Happineſſe God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of Affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that cup, whereof I have

have liberally drank ; which I look upon as Gods Phiſick, having that in healthfulneſſe, which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already, well-grounded and ſetled in your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which I have ever eſteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly your own Religion, and not other mens cuſtome or tradition, which you profeſſe.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as comming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, & to the primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, & often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more neceſſary for your ſoule, then your Kingdomes peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Divell of Rebellion doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angell of Reformation ; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights : When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion ; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeale.

So

So that, unleſſe in this point You be well ſetled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you and yours, under pretenſions of forming matters of Religion; for that ſeemes, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſignes.

Where, beſides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities whereto they are conſcious, by ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick diſcriminations in matters of Riligion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well ſetled; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide gaines you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others; who think themſelvs, & their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, thē perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſ as may either with calmneſſe & charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or ſo order affairs in point of Power, that you ſhall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of thē, or muſt ſtand to their curteſie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove:

you

you may never expect leſſe of loyalty, juſtice, or humanity, than frō thoſe, who engage into religious Rebellion; Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy; you may heare from them *Jacob's* voyce, but you ſhall feele they have *Eſau's* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable then the Preſbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeeres; ſo compliant they were to publique order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgments: But as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſes inflamations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Preſbytery their great Maſters: till time and military ſucceſſe, diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes; and, leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Preſbytery it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you in matters which concerne Religion and the Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectuall ſuppreſſing Errors and Sciſmes; which ſeem at firſt but as a handbredth, by ſeditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds, are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done juſtice to God, your owne ſoule and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your proſperity will depend, and move, is, that of civill Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Laws of theſe Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heire, are the moſt excellent rules you can governe by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty, and happineſſe; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty and prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whoſe ſubjection, as it preſerves their property, peace, & ſafety, ſo it will never diminiſh your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Lawes to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your Head with ſuch a Crown, as ſhall by its heavineſſe oppreſſe the whole body, the weaknes of whoſe parts cannot

not returne any thing of ſtrength, honour, or ſafety, to the head, but a neceſſary debiliatation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed and exerciſed in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws; there being nothing worſe than legall Tyranny.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my ſufferings. as to the worlds cenſure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the teſtimony of My own Conſcience; The Troublers of My Kingdomes having nothing elſe to object againſt Me but this, That I preferre Religion and Laws eſtabliſhed before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I do, and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto hath been chiefly uſed towards Me; Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learne that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publique Intereſt, and the good of the Community.

How God wil deal with Me, as to the removall of theſe preſſures, and indignities, which his juſtice, by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon Me,

Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retaine in My soule, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour, and Conscience I can; reserving only what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My owne Soule, the Church, and My People, and to You also, as the next and undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You, as I hope he will; My counsell and charge to You, is, That You seriously consider the former, reall, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsell, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likely to be alwaies more constant and impartiall to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdome than any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosnesse, and asperity of some mens passions, humours, and private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the dif-

ferences in leſſer matters, which are but the skirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Party, into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutors, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration, which attends all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Lawes, and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them; ſuch motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the beſt incouragements of learning, induſtry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand, diſtribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodneſſe both in abilities and fidelity, worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gaine You the hearts of

the

the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions, (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Lawes established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Lawes, and to Me) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious designes shall discover themselves, which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretentions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolfe is not lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better than a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But, as for the seduced Traine of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises, My charge and counsell to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any designes, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstra-

tions of goodneſſe, piety, and virtue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither fear any defection, (as they doe, who have but the face and maſk of goodneſſe) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

When theſe mountaines of congealed factions ſhall by the ſunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendour of Your virtues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences, than thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to uſurp power over them; Let then no paſſion betray You to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe owne ſinne and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoone as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all princely arts, and clemency, to heal the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may include

clude all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and inſecurities.

I would have You alwaies propenſe to the ſame way; when ever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and neceſſity, but of Chriſtian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived Me of all; and, I thank God, I have a heart to doe it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſſe, have done ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, than thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their owne Soules moſt vehement motives to repentance; and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality ſets You beyond any Duell with any Subject; ſo the nobleneſſe of Your mind muſt raiſe You above the meditating

any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to Your own merits, upon your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to You, not despairing of Gods mercy, and My Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope, You will study to deserve; yet We cannot merit of God, but by his owne mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Lawes have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sinne can devest us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own honour, and the Kingdomes peace.

But, if You never see My face againe, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment & obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I doe require and entreat You as Your Father, and Your KING,

that

that You never ſuffer Your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world; not onely in the Communion, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meanneſſe of fantaſtique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine & Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning, or poliſhing; which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand; if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude Alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to You againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or Your owne thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late Warre againſt the Church, the Lawes, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover,

Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes & Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly Zeale abate Your value and eſteem of true piety; both of them are to be *knowne by their fruits*; the ſweetneſſe of the Vine & Fig-tree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thornes ſhould pretend to beare Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertaine any averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which, in their right conſtitution with Freedome and Honour, will never injure or diminiſh Your greatneſſe, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and His People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions; The ſad effects of which will, no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedome, and Honour, which

which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) ſince the publique intereſt conſiſts in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in faire, grave, and Honourable waies to contribute their Counſels in Common, enacting all things by publique conſent; without tyranny or Tumults. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholſome food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever reſtored to Our Rights, but God, in his ſevereſt juſtice, will puniſh My Subjects with continuance in their ſinne, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their wickedneſſe; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to weare a Crowne, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, virtue, and honour, You ſhall never want a Kingdome.

A principall point of Your honour will conſiſt in Your deferring all reſpect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many waies deſerved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to

bleſſe

bleſſe Me with ſo many hopefull Children; all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty, is, (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My owne Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleaſed to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by Your wiſdome, juſtice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State, to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Lawes, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me, (for I know not how farre God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My bloud wil crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deſerted Me, or engaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders; whoſe inward horrour will be their

first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian KING, so I believe You will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In summe, what good I intended, doe You performe; when God shall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church & State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soone vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since My Restraint and cruell usage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You; wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God blesse You, and establish Your Kingdomes in righteousnesse, Your Soule in true Religion, and Your honour in the love of God and Your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by My destruction; let My memory, ever, with My name, live in You; as of Your Father, that loves You: and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of My Crowne, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My owne Conscience; which, I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thousand Kingdomes.

I know God can, I hope he yet will, restore Me to My Rights: I cannot despaire either of his mercy, or of My Peoples love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before You to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend You and all mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

28. *Medi-*

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His Majesties Closer Imprisonment in Carisbrooke-Castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough, to meditate upon, & prepare for My Death: for, I know, there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the space; but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burden of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now beare the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruell passions, whose envie or enmity against Me makes their owne lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperity made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality:

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertaine: Death being an eclipse, which

which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy daies.

But My now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in Me those naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the speciall horrour of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although My death at present may justly be represented to Me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affaires being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysonous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the antidote of his Death against them; which, as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorne, and cruelty of it, exceeds whatever I can feare.

Indeed, I never did find so much the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor I hope so bad, as to be either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to die; if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory

glory of a Christians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall & quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us overlive our own fates; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporall so much as in the love and good-will of My People; for which as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to doe, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in

a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths. I know, that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die out of weariness of life; and a want of that heroick greatness of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Samson's* Lyon, but they yeild much sweetness to those, that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the withherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sodain, and barbarous death, in the strength of My years, in the midst of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpless Spectators; My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught me not to hope other-

otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however, I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my Life is the object of the Devils & wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods sole custody and disposall. Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to me. I confesse it is not easie for me to contend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God suffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddennesse of a barbarous Assasination, or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruell) will, it may be, seek to adde (as those did, who Crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity; it will be but a necessary policy to make my death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraigne, who know that no Law of God or Man invests them with any power of Judicature without me, much lesse against me: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour my preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have

his Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties, & Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraign; wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, muſt by ſhedding My bloud ſeem to waſh their owne hands of that Innocent bloud, whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their owne Conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable Demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies.

Nothing makes mean Spirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation*; notwithſtanding thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applied onely to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſignes, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlaine.

With them, My greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My ſelfe with the Church and State by My Word, or not ſuffer them to doe it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſſions of Mine could ever yet, either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think that Kingdome of brambles which ſome men ſeek

to

to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done; I doubt not but My Innocencie will find him both My Protectour, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge; whom I owne as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knowes them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of My death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of My bloud ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by ſhedding theirs, who, with them, moſt thirſted after Mine.

The ſad confuſions following my deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to

Me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince My troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many waies pleaded My cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſinne was their onely ſecurity; who have cauſe to fear that God will both further divide, and, by mutuall vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up death in the victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcention.

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honour to imitate his example in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their ſoules from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeems to be their onely rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactor, of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own ſafety by my danger, and the ſecurity of their lives and deſignes

ſignes by My Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſinne are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſſe God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of violent death may paſſe from Me, as that of his wrath may paſſe from all thoſe whoſe hands, by deſerting Me, are ſprinkled, or, by acting and conſenting to My death, are embrued with My bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his ſubjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from me; whoſe mercy, I believe, will more then infinitely recompence, what ever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will far ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envied Crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the ſhadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men,

for the ſubſtance of that heavenly kingdome with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp and neceſſary tyranny of my Deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects, who doe not onely pity and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me, or for me.

Theſe know, how to excuſe my failings, as a man, and yet to retaine, and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects, by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed the faults and errours of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment of which private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believe, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, doe already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evill dealings againſt me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbes and toes, having, under pretence of paring others nailes, been ſo cruell as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſti-

obſtinate may be like that of *Korah* & his Complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince & Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdaine of their ill-gotten and worſe-uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſignes againſt Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which, I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunal I ſhall not feare to appeare, as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between me and my cauſleſſe Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who, from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, than ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely cleare, ſafe, and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſs of My Conſcience before God & toward my people, will carry me, as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion:

who

who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the designe. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sailes of Pirats, doth not justifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soule, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Lawes of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the just liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had with the greatest advantages of successe, overborne them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designes they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup; which, I doubt not, but I shall more cheerfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies, than my Friends; while those will put a period to the sinnes and sorrowes attending this miserable life; where-

with

with these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquerour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered: as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Errour, Faction, and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the depth of death, which I owe for sinne to nature, shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and, although death be the wages of my owne sinne, as from God, and the effect of others sinnes, as men, both against God and me; yet, as I hope my owne sinnes are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which I pray God they may obtain; that my temporall death, unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I

look

look upon the temporall deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſſe deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor doe I wiſh other, than the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt Me overboard; though it be very ſtrange, that Mariners can find no other means to appeaſe the ſtorme, themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My Enemies cruelty cannot prevent My preparation; whoſe malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed My Soul with My Body; of whoſe ſalvation while ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed, and taught others to deſpaire, they have onely diſcover'd this, that they doe not much deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruell Reſtraints, denying Me even the aſſiſtance of any of My Chaplaines, hath rather enlarged, than any way obſtructed My acceſſe to the Throne of Heaven.

Wherē thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings; who filleſt Heaven and Earth, who art the fountaine of eternall life, in whom is no ſhadow of death.

Thou, ô God, art both the juſt Inflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea,

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our ſelves, and live in thee; than by living in our ſelves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpeciall graces and comforts in My Soule, as a Chriſtian.

If thou Lord wilt be with Me, I ſhall neither feare nor feel any evill, though I walke through the valley of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death is the worke of a weake and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O my Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with me, as a Man; make me to know what it is to paſſe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt Me, yet thou haſt incouraged me to truſt in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, ô God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.

Thou

Thou givest me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may passe from me; but thou hast taught me as a Christian, by the example of Christ, to adde, Not my will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine.

Let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errours of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gaine: and in death, advantage.

Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet doe not thou, ô Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they lose their owne Soules?

Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against my self, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many, that Crucified him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for My Mur-

Murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damne their owne Soules by fallacious pretensions of Iustice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me, as very false, so very cruell; who, pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deale not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And, when thou makest inquisition for my bloud, ô sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent, Souls with the bloud of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too little to entertaine at once both them and me, yet let the capacious kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my Enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the same Redeemer, we shall live farre above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest

left upon me, ô let me fall into the armes of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repaied in thy ever-blessed eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

THE END.

A PERFECT COPIE OF PRAYERS VSED By *HIS MAJESTY* In the time Of His SUFFERINGS:

Delivered to Doctor *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, immediately before His Death.

Alſo a Copie of a LETTER *from The* PRINCE.

Printed in the Yeare, M.DC.XL.IX.

A Prayer in time of Captivity.

O Powerfull and Eternall God! to whom nothing is ſo great that it may reſiſt; or ſo ſmall, that it is contemned; look upon my miſery with thine eye of mercy, and let thy infinite power vouchſafe to limit out ſome proportion of deliverance unto me, as to thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient; let not injury, ô Lord, triumph over me; and let my faults by thy hand be corrected; and make not my unjuſt Enemies the Miniſters of thy juſtice: But yet my God, if in thy wiſdome, this be the apteſt chaſtiſement for my uncxcuſable tranſgreſſions; if this ingratefull bondage be fitteſt for my over-high deſires; if the pride of my (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, ô Lord, I yeild unto thy will, and cheerfully imbrace what ſorrow thou wilt have me to ſuffer: Onely thus much let me crave of thee (let my craving ô Lord, be accepted of, ſince it even proceeds from thee, that by thy goodneſſe which is thy ſelfe, thou wilt ſuffer ſome beame of thy majeſty ſo to ſhine in my mind, that I, who acknowledge it my nobleſt Title to be thy Creature, may ſtill, in my greateſt afflictions, depend confidently on thee. Let calamity be the exerciſe, but not the overthrow of my virtue: ô let not their prevailing power be to my deſtruction: and if it

be thy will that they more and more vex me with punishment, yet, ô Lord, never let their wickednesse have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind, and stedfast resolution ever to serve thee, without feare or presumption, yet with that humble confidence which may best please thee; so that at the last I may come to thine eternall kingdome, through the merits of thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

¶ Another Prayer.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, look down upon me thy unworthy Servant, who here prostrate my selfe at the foot-stool of thy Throne of Grace, but look upon me, ô Father, through the mediation and in the merits of Jesus Christ, in whom thou art onely well pleased; for of my selfe I am not worthy to stand before thee, or to speak with my unclean lips to thee most holy and eternall God; for as in sinne I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy Commandments by my sinfull motions, uncleane thoughts, evill words, and wicked works; omitting many duties I ought to doe, and committing many vices which thou hast forbidden under pain of thy heavy displeasure: as for my sins, ô Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting torments in that to come; if thou shouldst deale

deale with me according to my deſerts. I confeſſe ô Lord, that it is thy mercy (which endureth for ever) and thy compaſſion (which never failes) which is the cauſe that I have not been long ago conſumed: but with thee there is mercy and plenteous redemption; in the multitude therefore of thy mercies, and by the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, I intreat thy divine majeſty, that thou wouldſt not enter into judgement with thy Servant, nor be extream to mark what is done amiſſe, but be thou mercifull unto me, and waſh away all my ſins with that pretious bloud that my Saviour ſhed for me. And I beſeech thee, ô Lord, not onely to waſh away all my ſins, but alſo to purge my heart by thy holy Spirit, from the droſſe of my naturall corruption; and as thou doeſt adde daies to my life, ſo good Lord, I beſeech thee, to adde repentance to my daies, that when I have paſs'd this mortall life, I may be partaker of thy everlaſting Kingdome, through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. **Amen.**

¶ A Prayer and Confeſſion, made in and for the times of affliction.

ALmighty and moſt mercifull Father, as it is onely thy goodneſſe that admits of our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of thy accepting or granting them; ſo it

is our bounden and neceſſary duty to confeſſe our ſinnes freely unto thee; and of all men living, I have moſt need, moſt reaſon ſo to doe, no man having been ſo much obliged by thee, no man more grievouſly offending thee: that degree of knowledge which thou haſt given me, adding likewiſe to the guilt of my tranſgreſſions. For, was it through ignorance, that I ſuffered innocent bloud to be ſhed by a falſe pretended way of juſtice; or that I permitted a wrong way of thy worſhip, to be ſet up in Scotland? *And injured the Biſhops in* England? *ô no; but with ſhame and grief I confeſſe, that I therein followed the perſwaſions of worldly wiſdom, forſaking the dictates of a right-informed Conſcience: Wherefore, ô Lord, I have no excuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of thy mercies; for I know my repentance weake, and my prayers faulty: Grant therefore mercifull Father, ſo to ſtrengthen my repentance, and amend my prayers, that thou mayeſt cleare the way for thine owne mercies, to which ô let thy juſtice at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedy end to my deſerved afflictions. In the meane time give me patience to endure, conſtancy againſt temptations, and a diſcerning Spirit, to chuſe what is beſt for thy Church and People, which thou haſt committed to my charge: Grant this, ô moſt mercifull Father, for thy ſon Jeſus Chriſts ſake, our onely Saviour.* Amen.

¶ A Prayer in time of imminent danger.

O Moſt mercifull Father, though my ſins are ſo many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of thy anger, than ſo great a deliverance, as to free me from my preſent great danger; yet, O Lord, ſince thy mercies are over all thy works, and thou never faileſt to relieve all thoſe who with humble and unfained repentance come to thee for ſuccour, it were to multiply, not diminiſh my tranſgreſſions, to deſpaire of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly deſire thy divine majeſty, that thou wilt not onely pardon all my ſins, but alſo free me out of the hands, and protect me from the malice of my cruell Enemies: But if thy wrath againſt my hainous offences will not otherwaies be ſatisfied then by ſuffering me to fall under my preſent afflictions, thy will be done; Yet with humble importunity, I doe, and ſhall never leave to implore the aſſiſtance of thy heavenly Spirit, that my cauſe, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not ſuffer through my weakneſs, or want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and enlighten all the faculties of my mind, that with clearneſſe I may ſhew forth thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloudy Tryall, that ſo my ſufferings here may not onely glorifie thee, but likewiſe be a furtherance to my ſalvation hereafter: Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his ſake who ſuffered for me, even Jeſus Chriſt the righteous. Amen.

A Copie of a *Letter* which was sent from the PRINCE to the KING.

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Printer (which is as uncertaine) report, I have sent this Bearer Seamour *to wait upon your Majesty, and to bring me an account of it: that I may withall assure your Majesty, I doe not onely pray for your majesty according to my Duty, but shall alwaies be ready to doe all which shall be in my power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majesty upon*

SIR,

Your Majesties most humble and most obedient Son and Servant,

CHARLES.

HAGUE,
Jan. 23. 1648.

The Subscription was thus,
For the KING.

His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the high Court of Justice, which he intended to deliver in Writing on Munday, January 22. 1648.

HAving already made My protestations not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no Earthly Power can justly call Me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more then to referre My selfe to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true Liberty of My People, will not suffer Me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-borne Subject of *England* call Life, or any thing he possesseth his owne; if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have indeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Me to Answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

* There is no proceeding just against any man, but

* *Hereabout I was stopt, and not suffered to speak any more concerning Reasons.*

what

what is warranted either by Gods Lawes, or the municipall Lawes of the Country where he lives. Now I am moſt confident, that this daies proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and ſtrictly commanded both in the Old and New Teſtament; which if denied, I am ready inſtantly to prove: and for the queſtion now in hand, there it is ſaid, That *where the word of a King is, there is Power; and who may ſay unto him, what doeſt thou? Eccleſ.*8.4. Then for the Lawes of this Land, I am no leſſe confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirme that an Impeachment can lie againſt the KING, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maximes is, *That the King can doe no wrong.* Beſides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, muſt either be old, or new; if old, ſhew it; if new, tell what authority warranted by the fundamentall Lawes of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the Houſe of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it ſelfe (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the world to judge: And it were full as ſtrange that they ſhould pretend to make Laws without KING or Lords-Houſe, to any that have heard ſpeak of the Lawes of *England.*

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *England's* Commiſſion could grant your pretended power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certainly you never asked the queſtion of the tenth man of the Kingdome, and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt Plough-man, if you demand not his free conſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commiſſion without the conſent at leaſt of the major part of every man in *England,*

land, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so farre are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My owne right alone, as I am your KING, but also for the true Liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Lawes, such a Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or doe I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this daies proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publike Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am farre from charging the two Houses: for all the pretended Crimes laid against Me, beare date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to My power defend the ancient Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdome, together with My owns just right; then for any thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded.

And for the House of Commons, it is too well knowne that the major part of them are detained or deterr'd from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulnesse of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of setlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath

flourished

flourished for many hundred yeares, (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceeding against me doe go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late yeares under the Reigne of Q. *Elizabeth*, the KING My Father, and My selfe, untill the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Armes I tooke up were onely to defend the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of My People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an Errour (and then truly I will readily Answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

¶ *This I intended to speake in* Westminster-hall *on* Monday, 22. January; *but against reason was hindered to shew My Reasons.*

Munday

Munday 29. January 1648.

A Relation of what passed between His MAJESTY, *the Lady* ELIZABETH, *and the Duke of* GLOCESTER, *the day before His Death.*

HIs Majesties Children being come to meet Him, He first gave His blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*; and bad Her remember to tell her Brother *James* when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charls* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto Him, as his Soveraign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to Her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised Him to write downe the Particulars.

Then the KING taking the Duke of *Glocester* upon his Knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (Upon which words the Child looked very steadfastly on Him.) Mark Child what I say, they will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brother *Charles* and *James* doe live; For they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last: and therefore, I charge you, doe not be made a King by them.

them. At which the Child, ſighing, ſaid, *I will be torne in pieces firſt.* Which falling ſo unexpectedly, from one ſo young, it made the KING rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths *own Hand.*

WHat the KING ſaid to Me the nine and twentieth of *Jan.* 1648, being the laſt time I had the happineſſe to ſee Him; He told Me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat He had to ſay to me, which He had not to another, or leave in writing. Becauſe he feared their Cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to Me. He wiſhed Me not to grieve and torment my ſelf for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He ſhould die; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrewes* Sermons, *Hookers Eccleſiaſticall Politie*, and Biſhop *Lauds* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded Us, & all the reſt of My Brothers and Siſters to forgive them: He bid Me tell My Mother, That His thoughts had never ſtrayed from Her, and that His Love ſhould be the

ſame to the laſt. Withall He commanded Me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me ſend His Bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after He had given Me His Bleſſing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded Us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they had been moſt falſe to Him, and to thoſe that gave thē power, & He feared alſo to their own ſouls; And deſired me not to grieve for Him, for he ſhould die a Martyr, & that he doubted not but the Lord would ſettle his Throne upon His Son, & that we ſhould be all happier, then We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember. *Elizabeth.*

Another relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

The KING ſaid to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, that He would ſay nothing to him but what was for the good of his ſoul: He told him that He heard that the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon his Bleſſing, never to accept of it, unleſſe it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him. *FINIS.*

An *Epitaph* upon King CHARLS.

SO fals that ſtately Cedar, while it ſtood,
That was the onely glory of the wood;
Great Charles, *thou earthly God, Celeſtiall Man,*
Whoſe life like others, though it were a ſpan:
Yet in that ſpan, was comprehended more
Then earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore.
Thy heavenly vertues, Angels ſhould rehearſe;
It is a theame too high for humane Verſe:
He that would know Thee right, then let him look
Upon Thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it o're and o're; which if he doe,
He'l finde thee King, & Prieſt, and Prophet too;
And ſadly ſee our loſſe, and though in vaine,
With fruitleſſe wiſhes, call thee back againe.
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verſe.
Thy ſufferings and thy death let no man name;
It was thy glory, but the Kingdom's ſhame.

J. H.

ERRATA.

PAge 19.l.6.r.*godly*, p.25.l.9.r.*a City*, p.44.l.27.r. *I am*, p.45.l.12. r.*Lord forgive*, p.55.l.17.r.*the publique*, p.65.l.31.r. *waſhed*, p.81. l.28. r. *in which thoſe*, p.84.l.18. r.*naturall*, p.148.l.30.r.*mens*, p.149.l.19. r. *patterne*, *that* p.156.l.19.r.*conform*, p.163.l.16.r.*Did I*, ib.l.29.dele *that*, p.164.l.14.r.*Preſbyters*, ib.l.16.r.*parity*, p.168.l.3.r.*conſequence*, ib.l.5.r.*enjoyed*, ib.l.11. r. *violent*, p.169.l.10.r.*and fighting*, p.174.l.15. r.*them*; *Some* p.217.l.2.r.*I dayly*, p.221.l.16.r.*enacting*. p.233. l.6.r.*have*. p.237.l.4.r.*reforming*, p.239.l.6.r.*but by*

The ſecond of the foure Prayers under the Title of [Another Prayer,] *pag.* 4. *&* 5. *though it be here ſet downe according to other printed Copies, was yet none of His Majeſties,* (*but compoſed by ſome body out of the firſt Morning Proyer, and one other in the Practice of Piety*) *there being indeed but three left by His Majeſty. Of which the Reader to prevent his miſtake is deſired to take notice.*

V